Indian Political System

A Reader in Continuity and Change

Edited by
John K. Pulparampil

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Indian Political System :
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Marxist Response

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SYSTEMATIC THEORIES

INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that scores of books are today available on politics and political theories in India, the teachers and students in the Universities in India and abroad do not have at their disposal a satisfactory book that can serve as an introduction as well as a source book on politics and political theories in India from the ancient days to the present This Reader is an attempt to fill this gap It is designed as a text book on politics and political theories in India from the ancient days to our own times

This book is a collection of 32 readings arranged in three parts, viz I Classics and Early Writings, II Nationalist Ferment, and III Systematic Theories of modern Scholarship Under Classics and Early Writings are grouped eight selections that are to be considered the earliest Indian treatises on politics, and another seven selections from later and more recent writings describing politics in ancient, medieval and modern India The nationalist ferment in India is sought to be presented here through twelve selections, liberalist and Marxist, from the writings of the most important nationalist leaders In the last section, under the caption of Systematic Theories, are included five selections from some of the recent major theoretical work on Indian politics In the preparation of this Reader, the editor was led mainly by two considerations (a) of introducing the classical works on politics in India, and (b) of representing the important scholars and recognized thinkers in Indian politics.

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CLASSICS AND EARLY WRITINGS

Until a few years ago it was universally and confidently claimed that political theory was special contribution of the Greeks. Although the existence of very rich philosophical work in India from the earliest of times had been widely recognized, both European and Indian scholars were in the habit of considering that politics did not form a subject of serious study among the ancient Hindu scholars. Thus it was taken for granted that those thinkers steeped in metaphysical speculation on the nature of *Atman* and *Brahman* did not give any thought to subjects such as a theory of sovereignty, the principle of obedience and the structure of state and society. But later researches were to show how misplaced these assumptions were.

What gave the first shock to the above complacent ignorance was the discovery by D. Shama Sastry in 1904 in Mysore of the admirable work *Arthasastra* written by Chanakya, the 3rd century B. C. scholar from Kerala.[1] The series of researches that discovery triggered off led to the further discovery that Kautilya himself quotes and criticises teachers representing atleast eight different schools, thus establishing beyond doubt that long before Kautilya himself, the science of politics had been recognized as a serious subject of study on which authoritative treatises have been composed by scholars and students of affairs. And examinations in the light of the now available scientific treatises on politics soon led scholars to recognize that the *raja dharma* chapters in the *Santi Parvan* of the *Mahabharta* were more than pious advice given to rulers : that these chapters in fact constitute an encyclopaedic treatment of the whole subject with critical analysis of the views of different schools, and a consistent theory of rights and obligations.[2]

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1. John B. Alphonso-Karkala (ed.) *An Anthology of Indian Literature* (Penguin Books : 1971). p. 340.

2. K.M. Panikkar, *The Ideas of Sovereignty and State in Indian Political Thought*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, (Bombay : 1963), p. 3.

It was the pioneering work of K P Jayaswal on the Hindu Polity that revealed for the first time not only the wealth of Hindu political ideas, but also the development of indigenous politcal institutions in India[3] After him, a number of scholars from India and outside have come out with many more interesting discoveries and theories in the same line

A word is in place also about the general kind of ancient Indian political thought from the point of view of change and continuity, especially since the present political mood in India, filled with a revolutionary ferment and calls for "total revolution" looks so different from what it was in the days of yore Hence what is attempted below is an analysis of the theories of revolution in ancient Indian political thought

Consideration of revolution is as old as political science it self both in India and in the West And such considerations of revolution have devoted attention to both debating the justifiability of revolution from the moral angle, and to discussing the actual causes of revolution from the analytic point of view This is true both about the Indian and the Western political science

The major thrust of political thinking in ancient India was to defend an absolutely authoritarian ruler, and to denounce any attempt on the part of the subject at treason or regicide as unforgivable sin Thus for instance, Narada and Kautilya, to pick up just two prominent political thinkers of ancient India, have spared no efforts in their strong defence of an absolutely authoritarian rule

Narada

Narada held that revolution was not justifiable under any circumstances The following words of him are illustrative enough of his thinking in this regard

> "It is Indra himself who moves about on the earth as King Mortals cannot live at all if they transgress his

3 K P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 3rd Ed. Bombay ; 1955.

> commands. Whatever a king does is right, that is a settled rule; because the protection of the world is entrusted to him and on account of his majesty and benign attitude towards living creatures. As a husband, though feeble, must be constantly worshipped by his wives, in the same way, a ruler, though worthless, must be worshipped by his subjects."[4]

In another place, he argued that since the king had purchased his subjects through the practice of austerities, the king was the lord of the latter, and so had to be obeyed at any cost.[5] If an evil-minded man assailed even a wicked king, he should be fastened to a stake and burnt in fire, because he was more criminal than one who had committed the crime of killing a Brahman one hundred time.[6]

Kautilya

Kautilya was even more severe on this point than Narada. In his judgement,

> "Any person who aims at the kingdom, who instigates wild tribes or enemies against the king or who creates disaffection in forts, country parts, or in the army shall be burnt alive from head to foot. If a Brahman does similar acts, he shall be drowned."[7]

Having defined any form of revolt as unforgivable sin, Kautilya prescribed a number of methods for dealing with seditious persons. While all types of trickery are advised by him as methods for ridding the kingdom of persons suspected of treachery, in most cases his advice was to get them lured by spies into committing some offence and then killed as punishment for their crime. In any case, they had to be killed.

Despite this strong and unconditional denunciation of sedition and revolt, there was also another line of thinking that not

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4. Naradasmrti, XVIII, 20-22
5. Ibid. XVIII, 25.
6. Ibid. XV. 31.
7. Kautilya, *Arthasastra* IV, XI, 229,

only condoned popular resistance to the king, but also encouraged and advocated it in certain conditions

Thus in *Mahabharata* we hear Bhisma telling King Yudhistira that if he ignores traders and subjects as well as his foes, and becomes heedless of his duties, the people will fall upon him as vultures upon carrion [8] The conditions under which popular resistance is allowed are those which arise when the king is not conforming to *Dharma* Since the king as the welder of *danda*, or punishment enjoyed unlimited powers, he was constantly reminded that his primary duty was the protection of the subjects, and he was frequently warned against abusing his powers or oppressing the people It was further argued that kings engaging in tyranny would become repulsive to the people and be overtaken by material or spiritual calamities Manu taught that *Danda*, personified as a god, would strike down a wicked king and deprive him of his kingdom [9] Thus the general tendency was to impose philosophical and religious restraints upon the king rather than incite political retaliation

Nevertheless, there have been instances of encouraging the people to revolt against a tyrant The most famous passage in this respect is found in the *Mahabharta*,

> 'The king is more dead than alive in whose kingdom women are easily abducted from the midst of husband and sons, uttering cries and groans of indignation and grief The subjects should arm themselves for slaying that king who does not protect them, who simply plunders their wealth, who confounds all distinctions, who is incapable of taking their lead, who is without compassion, and who is regarded as the most sinful of kings That king who tells his people that he is their protector but who does not or is unable to protect them, should be slain by his combined subjects, like a mad dog "[10]

8 *Santi Parvam* 89 33

9 *Manusmrti* VII, 19 ff

10 *Mahabharta*, ed by P C Roy in 10 Volumes (Calcutta 1883 96) *Anusasana*, p 61 31-33

But such passages are very rare occurrences in the classical literature on politics in ancient India. As correctly observed by J. W. Spellman, in his discussion of revolution in ancient India, the ideas in justification of popular resistance and revolution are found favour with the theorists of ancient India only by implication, and we have no texts which give a reasoned out argument in favour of revolution.[11]

It is against this background that the present day calls heard in India of "total revolution" and similar cries and movements should be looked at and interpreted. But such an approach would be out of context, if it is focussed without also considering the western tradition of dealing with revolution, for much of intellectual energy for the present day calls to revolution in India have come from the West.[12]

THE NATIONALIST FERMENT

> "To talk of India as an entity is as absurd as to talk of Europe as an entity. Yet the very nationalist spirit which has created most of our difficulties in the last few years is based upon the aspirations and claims of a nationalist India. There never has been such a nation"[13]

The above statement of Lord Birkenhead, made in 1925 as the then Secretary of State for India was typically representative of the thinking of the British Colonial rulers in India. On the same occasion the Lord revealed a little more of their thinking on the same issue by adding that "If we withdraw from India

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11. John W. Spellman. *Political Theory of Ancient India*, Clarendon Press (London : 1964), p. 234.

12. See, on this point, John Pulparampil, *Revolution and Revolutionary Leadership in India : Naxalbari*, New Delhi : 1975.

13. Lord Birkenhead, in his statement on the Indian policy of the British Government, made in the House of Lords on 7th July, 1925. See G. Adhikari (ed), *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India, Vol. II*, (New Delhi : 1974) p. 492.

tomorrow, the immediate consequences would be a struggle between the Hindus and the Muslims" In a further attempt at establishing Britain's right to rule India by the sword he asserted that no responsible Indian had ever demanded 'the withdrawal of British troops from India", and argued that "an immediate repudiation of our responsibilities in India would be atleast as fatal to the interests of India itself as in any year since 1765"

Despite the Lord s confidence in the veracity of his assertions, his statements were far from truth The national consciousness in India had already reached an irreversible trend, and its further spread was not only irresistible but was also threatening to force out "the almighty rulers" of the 'empire on which the sun never set' But it took another score of years for the British Rulers to *realize the full significance of this development* Nationalism in India was not a sudden development, but the gradual growth out of a proto nationalism triggered off by the reformist *and* revivalist fervour of the late 18th and the 19th centuries The founding of the Hindu college in Calcutta, in 1781, to encourage the study of Sanskrit, and the founding of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1784 by Sir William Jones and similar steps for promoting Arabic and Persian studies in Bengal opened new vistas for research in ancient Indian thought and culture The Higher caste Hindus, above all else, made use of these avenues to rediscover India's past, and when the intellectual horizon widened under the influence of western thought, the Bengali intelligentsia gave strong vent to their feelings against certain social customs and evils prevalent in Indian Society But such a fervour of reform on the part of some had an opposite effect too there arose a few apostles of orthodoxy, pledged to revive and preserve the ancient Hindu values and traditions Thus the stage of proto nationalism was marked by a spirit of reform and revivalism Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Dayananda Saraswati are the best representations of these traditions of reform and revivalism in India's proto-nationalism

Raja Rammohan Roy : The Reformist Tradition

Born in 1772 of devout brahmin parents, Rammohan Roy's

early interest was in religious questions. But later he also showed unusual interest in studying Persian, and Arabic, as well as in reading Euclid, Aristotle, and the Quran. With his study of Sanskrit and Buddhism at a later stage of his education, his interest to gather ideas and values from several cultures and synthesize them increased. But it was with his gaining fluency in English and increased contacts with the English culture, that the cosmopolitan spirit in him spurred him to dedicate his remaining life to religious and social reforms in India.

As a social reformer, Ram Mohan Roy displayed both an ever fertile imaginativeness and an inexhaustible resourcefulness. He was one of the first indians to found and edit news papers. He not only edited news papers, but also published them in English, Bengali, and Persian. While he worked for the spread of education by starting several secondary schools, his greatest contribution in the line of social reform was that he could lead a successful campaign against *Sati* or the compulsory immolation of widows in the funeral pyre of their husbands. And the *Brahmo Samaj* or Divine Society which he founded was to exercise, for a long time, a deep influence on the intellectual, social, and religious life of modern India. Towards the end of his life, Ram Mohan Roy also endeavoured to establish an ethical monotheism by integrating the humanitarian message of Christianity with what was best in Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism.

But where Ram Mohan really turned out to be a "revolutionary" was in his embarking of the forbidden "crossing of the black waters." He went to England to represent the emperor of Delhi and thus turned out to be an unofficial ambassador of India to Britain. When in England, he presented to a Parliamentary Committee recommendations on improving the government of India. He also enjoyed the honour of having a dinner given to him by the directors of the East India Company. And it was in England that he breathed his last in 1833.

Assessing the role of Rammohan in the political realm, one could say, without being exaggerative, that the history of modern Indian political thought begins with Raja Rammohan

Roy The political thought of Rammohan are found scattered all over his numerous writings, atleast eight of which deserve special mention 1 Brief remarks regarding Modern encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindu Law or inheritance (1852), 2 Petitions against the Press Regulation to the Supreme Court and to the King in Council (1823), 3 A Letter to Lord Amherst on English Education (1823), 4 Final Appeal to the Christian Public (1823), 5 Remarks on settlement in India by Europeans (1831), 6 A Brief sketch of the Ancient and Modern Boundaries and History of India (1832), 7 Questions and Answers on the judicial and Revenue systems of India (1832), 8 Letters and speeches delivered by him on various occasions

One thing remarkable about Rammohan's approach to politics in India was that he pursued the inductive and historical method and was more interested in practical political problems rather than in general theories concerning the origin and nature of the State A clearest illustration of this is his diagnosis of the causes of India's loss of freedom He listed five causes (a) the dissentions and pusillanimous conduct of the native princes and chiefs, (b) the ignorance existing in the East about the modern improvements in the arts of War, (c) absence of patriotism among the people of India, (d) division in to castes which has been the cause of want of unity among the Indians, and finally, (e) an excessive sense of abstinence that led the people in India to abstain from slaughtering even animals

Central to any analysis of Rammohan's political thought is an understanding of his ideas on law and liberty, on the one hand, and on the nature of state and society on the other

One of the earliest steps Rammohan took to rouse the political consciousness of the people of Bengal was to start the vernacular journal *Sambad Kaumudi*, in 1821 Through the pages of this journal as well as through his numerous writings and speeches he set out to communicate to his country men and his rulers what he thought and believed about matters like law and liberty, state and society If there is an underlying

early interest was in religious questions. But later he also showed unusual interest in studying Persian, and Arabic, as well as in reading Euclid, Aristotle, and the Quran. With his study of Sanskrit and Buddhism at a later stage of his education, his interest to gather ideas and values from several cultures and synthesize them increased. But it was with his gaining fluency in English and increased contacts with the English culture, that the cosmopolitan spirit in him spurred him to dedicate his remaining life to religious and social reforms in India.

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unity to his thinking on these subjects, it is to be found in his belief that *it is obligation which confers rights and that rights cannot exist apart from the state*. Besides making this clear in his writing and speeches, he also testified to it by his behaviour, and especially emotional reaction to world events of his day. Thus, for instance, when the constitutional government of Naples was overthrown in 1821, he felt so much grief that he cancelled an engagement with Mr. Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.

On later occasions he was also to come out with reasoned out arguments on such issues. Thus, in 1830, in his Essay on the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral property, he stated :

> "In every country, rules determining the rights of succession to, and alienation of, property first originated in the conventional choice of the people, or in the direction of the highest authority, secular or spiritual and these rules have been subsequently established by the common usage of the country, and confirmed by juridical proceedings."[14]

Having thus outlined his own theory regarding the origins of law, he also admitted the right of the existing supreme authority to make whatever alteration or modification was found fit, but at the same time, he did not fail to insist that the long standing customs of India should not be slightly set aside. But he made no secret of his firm position that he would advocate adherence to those customs only which could satisfy two important conditions—being reasonable, and being conducive to the general welfare of the people. Thus in the end, he implied that the ultimate rationality or *raison d'etre* of any law and authority had to be reasonableness and common good.[15]

Strongly opposing any move by the East India Company to

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14. Qusted by B. Majumdar, *History of Indian Social and Political, Ideas from Rammohan to Dayananda*, Bookland Private Ltd. Calcutta : 1967 ; p. 29.

15. See *Ibid.* p. 29.

assume legislative authority, he held firm to his view that the sovereign power over India being the king in parliament, laws for India should be made by the Parliament But he was perceptive enough to recognize the difficulties involved in making laws in England for as distant a country as India, and so he suggested three methods of far reaching consequences to ensure good laws for India, viz free press, commissions of inquiry, and consulting the Indian aristocracy

It was on the question of the free press that Rammohan laid his strongest emphasis In support of his argument that a free press in India would ensure good laws for the country, he adduced four different reasons (1) It will operate as a channel of communication enabling the public to place before the Government their opinions on matters affecting their general interest, and enabling the Government to know the sentiment of the people By doing so it will ensure that laws made in England for India would correspond to the public opinion in India (2) The free press will also enable the people to ventilate their grievance and try to have them reddressed If grievances are unexpressed and remain unreddressed, they might ferment revolution Now a free press can obviate such a development (3) The free press would also enable the people of India to appeal to the sense of honour and justice of the British nation against any possible oppressive and tyrannical act of the government of India (4) Finally it would also enable the British Government to ascertain correctly whether the reforms introduced in their possessions prove so beneficial to the natives of the country as their authors might fondly suppose or would have others believed, as well as to ensure the execution of laws made

The reason why Rammohan placed the greatest importance on the right as well as the need of expressing one's opinion freely was his conviction that ' whatever is of highest excellance in Government or of greatest virtue and enlightenment in society, can be secured only by the freedom of press "[16] This

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16 B Majumdar, *op cit* p 39

was also the reason why he held that licencing and tyranny of opinion had always gone hand-in-hand with bad government. And so he did not require many other reasons to argue that freedom of the press was as beneficial to the govrnment as to the governed. While he told the people that since the Government of India was not representative, it was all the more necessary to have freedom of discussion, he told the rulers that in his opinion a free press had never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world and that revolutions had frequently shaken the foundation of those despotic government which had tried to keep the people in ignorance.[17]

Rammohan was equally concerned also about having a clean, just, and efficient administration in India. He demanded the introduction of reforms like codification of law ; separation of powers ; integrity, efficiency, and independence of judges ; introduction of the jury system and the *habeas corpus* act ; and measures for ensuring the legal responsibility of officials. Significantly, he also advocated the re-modelling of the old Panchayat System in order to administer justice. His suggestion to reduce corruption was to increase the salary of Indian Officers in the judicial department.

On a balance sheet on Rammohan's political ideas, one cannot help admiring his zeal for reforming the Indian society on the one hand, and of ensuring greater justice and freedom for Indians. Thus while his role in the legal suppression of *Sutee*, his championing of the rights of women, and his refusal to believe that women are inferior to men in understanding and firmness of character are all matters that have been deservedly recorded in Indian history, so are his defence of the freedom of the Press and his concern for administrative reforms. But despite one's great admiration for him, one cannot help also being aware of the unrealistic and even unwelcome elements of his thought. Thus for instance, much of his arguments for the free press was motivated by a Platonic reasoning : if only the rulers knew what was wrong, they would rectify it in favour of

17. Ibid. pp. 40-42.

the ruled It did not occur to him that the British rulers were the exploiters of India, led primarily by their own interests, and not the well being of the Indians And hence his conviction *that the Indians were "fortunately placed by Providence* under the protection of the whole British Nation, or that the King of England and his Lords and Commons are their legislators, and that they are secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton is entitled to in England"[18] The same also explains why he was inclined to believe that the English people delivered the Indians from the tyranny of their former rulers, under whom the people were never secure in the enjoyment of civil rights And finally one would also find it hard to agree with his argument that the maintenance of a prosperous middle class is to be justified because it ensures that at least one class of people could be prosperous

Swami Dayanada Saraswati

Swami Dayanada Saraswati was born in 1824, in a place known as "Kathiawad" in Gujarat State His parents were devout Hindus, less scholarly and more given to practising of traditional religious observances such as worship of idols, observance of fasts in the honour of those idols etc, Born with an inquisitive mind and grown up with a bent on independent thinking young Dayananda loathed the p ous practices that he found at home and around him Still, at his father's insistence, he allowed himself to be indoctrinated by a teacher of the Vedas As a result, from his *guru* he inherited not only a strong faith in the Vedas, but also a conviction in their infallibility Young though, he was Dayanada did not fail to observe the great difference between the vedic religion and the religion practiced *in his time The vedic religion, he was convinced,* allowed no idol warship, but the religion of his day was full of idol worship And against this he revolted, both through a series of writings, and through his organised social activities A pronounced reformer and an orthodox believer in ethics, he

18. Ibid p-36 quoted

was not left without challenges and persecutions. Often he was clever enough to escape the traps laid for him, but finally he succumbed to a fatal trap. His end was analogous to that of St. John the Baptist. He reproached a local prince for having illegitimate relations with a woman. The woman in question caused water mixed with ground glass to be given to the Swami, and thus he was killed in 1883.

The Writings of Swami Dayananda

Essentially a man with a political bent of mind, and faithful to his un-historical approach, Dayananda read his own mind in to the *Vedas* and interpreted them, accordingly, as treatises on politics. Dayananda was the first to interpret the *Vedas* as political treatises. Majumdar observes that Dayananda has, in his commentaries on the first seven Mandalas of the *Rig Veda* given a political bent to atleast twenty percent of the verses. He interprets *Brihaspati* (the lord of the Universe) as the ruler of a big state; he finds political maxims in all the hymns dedicated to *Surya* (the Sun-God) and *Indra* (the King-God) and believes that *Surya* and *Indra* have been mentioned simply to give an analogy to the functions of government.

Among the various works containing the political ideas of Swami Dayananda, the important ones are:

(i) **Satyarthaprakasa** ("Exposition of the True Meaning")

(ii) **Rig-Vedadi Bhasya Bhumika** ("Preface to the commentaries on the Rig and other Vedas."

(iii) **Samaskara Vidhi** ("Norms for Right Living")

(iv) **Vyavahardhanu** ("Illustrations For Correct Conduct")

True to his spirit of nationalism, Swami Dayananda wrote his books in Hindi ; and not in Sanskrit.

Dayananda's Theory of State

Without troubling himself with problems obout the origin of the State, Dayananda set out giving his own explanation of the nature of the state as well as his theory regarding the structure that a state should adopt. Having committed himself to an

uncritical acceptance of the Vedic teachings, it was only natural that his theories also were made in referenee to the Vedic teachings

For Dayananda, the state is only one of the associations of the community, but the most important one, of course According to him, the state stands for the realization of the highest objects of life, which, as enunciated by the Vedas are Righteousness or religion (Dharma) material prosperity (Artha), Sexual enjoyment or family pleasures (Kama) and Liberation or salvation *(Moksha) Now, state, in his view, should be an institution* to promote these fourfold ends of life

In developing his theory regarding the structure of the state, Dayananda showed his ingenuity It was a bold attempt at corresponding the four stage of life prescribed by the *Vedas* to the multifarious functions of the State The *Vedas* enunciated the four stages of life as *Brahmacharya* (Schooling), *Grahastha (family life) Vanaprastha* (hermit-life) and *Sanyasa (a renounced-*life) Corresponding to these, he invented a *Vidyasabha* (the Assembly for culture and learning, to be constituted by the *Brahmacharins* or students), a *Rajya Sabha* (the Legislative Assembly, to be constituted by the *Grahastas* or family men) and a *Dharma Sabha* (the Assembly of Religion and Righteousness, to be constituted by the *Vanprastas* or peripathetic seekers after Truth) , to the *Sanyasins* or monks, he assigned the role of casting votes *where votes are equally divided The three Sabhas* or Assemblies would constitute the Government of the state, to be presided over by a President elected by the people

Dayananda's Theory of Government

For Dayananda, government is essentially a moral activity The body of governing men is to be constituted by men of high learning and virture, elected by the people Its function is to promote the highest aims of human life, as enunciated by the *Vedas* Its guideline is *Law*, as revealed in the scriptures Above all, self government was the right of the people, to be abrogated by none

Election of the Rulers

Stressing the point that the possession of high learning and the observance of true virtues are necessary qualities for leaders who rule the country, he wrote in his *Satyarthaprakas* :

"Even a meeting of thousands of men cannot be designated as *Assembly*, if they be destitute of such high virtues as self-control, or truthful character ; be ignorant of the *Vedas*, and be men of no understanding like the Sudras. Let no man abide by the law laid down by men who are altogether ignorant, and destitute of the knowledge of the *Veda*, for whoever obeys the law propounded by ignorant fools falls into hundreds of kinds of sin and vice. Therefore, let no ignorant fools be ever made members of the aforesaid three Assemblies—political, Educational, and Religious." (chapter 6, p. 254)[19]

He had also written a little earlier :

"Let all men, therefore elect the most learned men as members of the Educational Assembly (*Vidya Sabha*), the most devout men, as members of the Religious Assembly (*Dharma Sabha*) and men of the most praiseworthy character as members of the Legislative Assembly (Rajya Sabha)."[20]

Dayananda did not favour separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers. He advocated a close interdependence of these three powers and the respective bodies.

Functions of the Government

As mentioned earlier, the function of the state, in general, is to promote the highest aims of human life. In practice, it was to promote, following the injunctions of the *Vedas*, the four-fold aims of life viz. religion (*Dharma*), material welfare (*artha*), family pleasures (*Kama*), and release from worldly bondages (*moksha*) ; it had also the twin duty of preserving a modern form of the old caste structure, now based not on birth but on qualifications and merits.

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19. B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 255.
20. Ibid. p. 151.

In *Sathyarthaprakasa*, he wrote

"It is the duty of the king and other good and learned men to examine all men thoroughly and then place every one of them in to the four classes—Brahmana, Kshatriya Vaisya and Sudra, acording to his qualifications and merits" (p 443)[21]

He also observed the president and the Assembly should try to secure what has not already been gained to protect that which has been secured, to increase that which has been protected, and to utilize the enhanced wealth in dessemınating the vedic knowledge and *Dharma*, and in supporting the students, religious teachers as well as the disabled and the orphans "[2]

Besides entrusting the government the duty of seeing to the observance of their respective duties by all the four classes, he also entrusted to other duties such as regulating marriage customs, etc He stressed the need not only of keeping up a strong military power, but also of giving military training to all civilians He did not stress the need for economic equality, but only warned the rich not to disrupt the government

(iii) Law as the Guide of Government

In carrying out the functions of the Government law was to be its guide He made his own the Vedic maxim "Verily the just law alone is the true king yes the just Law is the true religion", and once he speaks of the law as if it were a person

"The Law", he says, "alone is the true governor that maintamaintains order among the people The Law alone is their protector The Law keeps awake whilst all the people are fast asleep, the wise, therefore, look upon the Law above as *Dharma* or Right When rightly administered, the Law makes all men happy, but when administered wrongly, that is, without due consideration as to the requirements of justice, it ruins the king All the four classes *would become corrupt, all order would*

21 Majumdar p 259

22 Ibid p 163

come to an end, there would be nothing but chaos and corruption if the Laws were not properly enforced. Where the Law,... striking fear into hearts of the people, and preventing them from committing crimes, rules supreme, there the people never go astray, and consequently live in happiness, if it be administered by a just and qearned men......The Law rightly administered by the king greatly promotes the practice of virtue, acquisition of wealth, and secures the attainment of the heartfelt-desires of the people. But the same Law destroys the king who is sensual, indolent, craftly malevolent, mean and low-minded." (Sathyarthaprakasha, p. 180)[23]

Obviously, Dayananda is admonishing the rulers to govern in harmony with the vedic law (or "cosmic harmony") lest they should fail to attain the objects of Government. Here again, having committed to the re-establishment of the vedic-order of things, it was only natural that Dayananda harped on the observance of the vedic laws. But Dayananda was to part with the vedic tradition when he proclaimed self-government as the popular right-proclamation that sounds strange to a man committed to the establishment of the vedic order of things.

(iv) Self-Government as a Popular Right

Dayananda did not accept the nation of a king to rule over the people. He went even so far as to discover Republican government in the Vedic Age. Wherever the term Raja occured, he interpreted it as *Sabhapati* or President. No man, he says can be a king. God alone can be the king. Only that state prospers in which people firmly believe that the All Powerful God is the protector of the people, that He is the bestower of knowledge and happiness, that He alone is the King in all respects.

Dayananda is deadly against the rule by one man. In his *Satyarthaprakasa* he says that absoulte power should not be entrusted to one man. An autocratic King never allows others to be equal to himself. His own personality over-shadows that

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23. Majumdar, p p. 257-8

of others As a tiger eats up the other strong animals so does a man being entrusted with autocratic power destroy other aspiring persons He would some how or other rob and unjustly punish those who would show least sign of prosperity

In his *Rig Vedadi Bhasya Bhumika* he observes that where one man is obeyed as King all the subjects are condemned to live in misery They suffer from the paucity of the best things In another place he says that the King is also called murderer of subjects because out of his greediness he destroys the subs tance of the subjects It is not proper, therefore, to elect one man as King Again he declares that an autocrat is sure to be partial in order to fulfil his own selfish ends

In a passage quoted earlier, he had already suggested that it was sinful to be subject to a lawless and un virtuous rule , implicitly suggesting that the people could rise in protest and take up arms against such rulers

He admitted the necessity of having a President for representing the unity of the state But the President is to be elected by the people , the right of ruling the people is to be conferred by the people themselves

4. A Comparison with Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Coming immediately after the Great reformist Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and himself also committed to the reform of Hindu Society, Dayananda deserves to be compared with the former

(a) Similarities

(i) Both Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Dayananda Saraswati were inspired by the idea of regenerating the country and both were intensely patriotic

(ii) In the case of both men, it was the need for ameliorating the political (Social) condition of the country that inspired them to make a crusade against the social and religious customs of the Hindus

(iii) Both were staunch fighters in forum and press

(iv) Both were skilled dialecticians with full command of the Sastras or the sacred writings of the Hindus.

(v) Both condemned idol worship, and were in turn, persecuted by others.

(vi) Both went back to the Vedas and Upanishads in search of a life-stream for the new society they wanted to fashion.

These similarities were, however, not all what mattered, for deeper lay the dissimilarities in their approach and ideology.

(b) Dissimilarities

(i) Raja Ram Mohan Roy was not against British Rule in India ; nor was he against the aoption by India of any western form of Government, provided that the government was just and efficient. He even went so far as to say that justice will be done in India better under the British rule than under the rule of the local princes. He did not, obviously visualize a democratic central government for the whole of India, in which the dominance of the Princes will be eliminated.

Swami Dayananda, however, asserted that good government is no substitute for self-government ; that foreigners might govern the country with justice and mildness, that they might rule with impartiality and might be as charitable in disposition as parents ; yet that rule will not be conducive to perfect happiness.

(ii) Raja Ram Mohan Roy believed that English education and the adoption of certain features of Western civilization would bring India growth and prosperity and give her unity.

But Dayananda beieved that Vedic Renaissance alone could bring unity amongst a people divided in language, culture, manners and customs. Such a unity, he held, is essential for realizing the common purpose of all, viz. self-government. With this Understanding, he reacted against westernization of India and pleaded for the introduction of Hindi and Sanskrit as the media of instruction.

Apart from these differences in the realm of ideologies there were equally great differences in the dimension of their personalities

(iii) Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a synthesis of multicultures He knew, besides English, Russian, Arabic and Sanskrit, also Latin, French, Hebrew and Greek

Dayananda, in great contrast was an example for the exclu sion of all foreign cultures Besides Gujarati, Hindi and Sanskrit which were his own mother-tongues, he knew no foreign langu ages-neither English, nor any thing else

(iv) The Raja was a tolerant man able to appreciate other cultures and ready to co exist with different opinions and ideologies—a true characteristic of a synthesis of cultures

The Swami was a fanatic fired with a passion for Vedic culture, he was unwilling to appreciate or do justice to christianity Islam, and even other offshoots of Hinduism itself a true charac teristic of an unexpanded mind

(v) In the method of approach to problem and reforms, too they differed Roy had a sense of history and his approach was often scientific Dayananda had no sense of history and was only committed to the re establishment in a modernized form of of a traditional social pattern that he considered was alone disirable

(vi) In the sphere of private life, the Raja was an administrator and a practical man, living a family life The swami was a Sanyasin who renounced the ordinary way of life and was a wandering peripathetic idealist This made a big difference between the two

Ram Mohan Roy and Dayananda Saraswati have been discussed at length here for two reasons (a) they are typical repre sentations of the reformist and revivalist trends that were manifest during the protonationalist period, and have left their heritage to the nationalist and post independence periods in Indian politics, (b) no selections from their writings are included in this Reader for the reason that their political thought being unsystematic and scattered all over their numerous pieces of writings,

no selection is found to be representative enough of their thinking.

From the nationalist period, selections from twelve leaders have been included here, seven representing the liberalist tradition and five representing the Marxist tradition in Indian politics. While making these selections care has been taken to include passages that bring out that which is most typically representative of the thinking of the writer concerned. Where such a selection was not possible, it has been made good by the introduction to the selection actually included. And since every selection is accompanied by an introduction making clear the historical and theoretical contexts of the text, the editor feels that there is no need for another general introduction here.

Systematic Theories

How Indian is contemporary Indian political science' and the answer is not a very encouraging one. While volumes after volumes are being produced by Indian authors on Indian politics, the number of those that can be rated satisfactory in academic standards is so small as can be counted on fingers, The real scholarly and analytical works on Indian politics are coming out mainly from the Western political scientists, while their Indian counter-parts are still busy with chronicling and describing without giving serious attention to real political anlysis, capable of generating explanatory theories. Even those who do Political analysis, have not gone any farther than borrowing the models and frame—works suggested by their western counterparts and apply them on the Indian political phenomena. This in brief seems to be the real state of contemporary Indian political science.[24]

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24. See J. S. Bains, "Political Science in India", *Indian Journal of Political Science* : New Delhi, Oct-Dec. 1972. See also V. N. Chawla and S. K. Sharma, (ed.) *Political Science in India : Presidential Addresses delivered at the All-India Political Science Conferences.* Vol. I, International Book Company, (Jullunder City : 1974), "Introduction", pp. 9-6,

Partly the reasons for the above state of affairs were historical springing from the general crippling dealt to India by the colonial subjugation The study of politics and political institutions was not looked upon with favour by the imperialist rulers At the same time, being a late entrant to the family of social sciences in India, political science was also subject to active hostility of sister disciplines who saw in its flourish the shrinkage of their discipline As a result of this academic subjugation, for a long time political science had to suffer from the patronage of History and Economics and its syllabus was an integral part of either of them in most of the universities in India during the British Period This was a result of two major reasons the fact that it came in to existence within the house hold of history as well as the fact that it did not make any particular effort to survive and thrive Thus, in India as it was in Europe, down to the 19th century, the relationship of Political Science with History was not only accepted but even glorified by stating "History without political science has no fruits , Political Science without History has no roots "

The earliest attempts in India of liberating Political Science from the strong hold of History were made in 1938, by the three founding fathers of the Indian Political Science Association, viz *Prof G N Singh (Benares), Prof V S Ram (Lucknow) and* Prof G D Sondhi (Lahore) The decision to start an independent learned Association with a quarterly journal to promote the growth of political science in India was taken at Lahore, in the house of Prof G D Sondhi in May, 1938, and the first Session of the Indian Political Science Conference was held at the Benares Hindu University on 22nd, 23rd and 24th December, 1938, under the presidentship of G B Pant, the then Prime Minister of the United Provinces

The greatest impetus however, for the development of political science in India was to come only with the dawn of Independence This was offered by the founding of the various specialized institutes like The Indian Council of World Affairs , The Indian Institute of Public Administration, the Indian School of International Studies , the Indian Academy of International Law and Diplomacy , the Institute of Constitutional and Parlia-

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mentary Studies ; Indian Council of Social Science Research ; Indian School of Social Sciences ; The Centre for the study of Developing Societies ; and the Indian Social Institute.

Till very recent times, political science in India was following the traditional approach, characterized by (1) being mostly historical and chronological in interest ; (2) having no interest in either a systematic methodology or a general theory of politics ; (3) focusing on governmental institutions in an isolated and legalistic sense ; (4) neglecting the task of looking into the causal relationships of political action or behaviour within the existing frame works ; and (5) being concerned with purely descriptive works in terms of an endless piling of facts on facts.

But of late, the Western "behavioural revolution" of the 1930's and 1940's has started making an impact on Indian political science too, judging from its recently increasing concern : (1) to make political science capable of prediction and explanation in the realm of political events ; (2) to evolve systematic and operative theoretical frameworks ; (3) to identify one or a few units (comparable to the cell in biology) tnat could serve as a base for comparisons and broad generalisations ; (4) to collect factual data for deeper analysis by using the modern facilities such as computers and other electronic data processing machines ; and (5) to emphasize that all institutional activity is a combination of the political roles played by various individuals at different levels.

This new concern has provided Indian political science with : (1) a greater emphasis on developing a theoretical frame work for conducting research ; (2) many new words and concepts borrowed from other social sciences thus resulting in a new political vocabulary ; (3) a focus on the need to test theoretical hypothesis against empirical data ; (4) an assumption that a rigorous course in methodology is a must for social scientists ; and increasingly inter-disciplinary forces in works of politics.[25]

25. See : V. Subramanyam and N. Srinivasan : "The Indian Political System : Need for New Research Angles," *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), Vol, VI, Aprial 24, 1971 ; C, M. Jain and S. L.

It is in the above historical context that one can speak of "Systematic Theories on the Indian Political System." The five selections included here are meant to achieve two objectives: (a) to introduce some of the major "systematic theories" on Indian politics; and (b) to touch upon some of the most important problems of contemporary Indian politics.

Doshi: 'Bearing of Sociology on Political Science: The Indian Case," *Indian Journal of Political Science (New Delhi)*, **Vol 35**, January-March 1874; and R Srinivasan, "Prospects for Indian Political Science—Research in the Seventies", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), Vol. VI, September 4, 1971.

SECTION 1

CLASSICS AND EARLY WRITINGS

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No society is devoid of politics, and the ancient Indian societies were no exception to this rule What was absent, however, is systematic treatment of the "political man" in the voluminous writings of ancient India While there developed a number of philosophical schools and systems on metaphysical problems such as the nature of man, of the universe, and their inter relationship, no such schools or theories developed about the polity With the sole of exception of Chanakya Kautilya's *Arthsastra* whatever discussion on political issues are found in our classics and early writings are of a fragmentary and casual nature

As far as one is able to understand from such fragmentary works as are available, Indian political thought, from Manu to the later and more recent times, is a mixture of both normative and analytic theories, particular thinkers of course, tending to give their weight to the one or the other of these two approaches This becomes clear even from a cursory survey of the available sources of the Indian political tradition

The selections included in this section are of two categories The first can be said to form the actual sources of earlier Indian political tradition, in the sense of laying down norms for politcal behaviour and thus influencing the political processes in the country The second category is more of a documentary and descriptive nature, accounting for what happened in the Indian polity Thus it is a selection of historical perspectives in to the politics of ancient, medieval, and modern India.

1

THE KING AND THE MINISTERS*

Introduction by Mackenzie Brown

> *If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those deserving to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker like fish on a spit.*
>
> Manu

TO THE WESTERN WORLD, the *Code of Manu* or *Manu-samhita* is the best-known work of its kind. This fame is due in part to its selection by Warren-Hastings from a large number of works on Indian law for translation and official use by the British East India Company. It is the oldest known book on Hindu law, for the earliest extent treatises—those of Vasishtha and Gautama—contain quotations from a presumably lost version of Manu, thus confirming its priority.[1] Manu has also been looked upon traditionally by Hindus as the prime legal authority, and in case of conflict with other codes, that of Manu takes precedence.[2]

who was Manu ? The world itself is derived from the root *man* (mankind).[3] Mythologically, Manu was the father of the human race, the first lawgiver. He like Noah, escaped a great

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* From D. Mackenzie Brown, *The White Umbrella : Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi*, (First Published in 1953 by the Univerity of California Press, Berkeley, U.S.A.) Jaico Publishing House, Bombay : 2nd Edition, 1970, Ch. III, pp. 26-34.

flood And he was thereafter the reviver and promulgator of the laws of justice[4] He is also described as the first and greatest of ancient Indian Kings, the offspring of the Sun[5] Finally, Manu is said to be not a person at all, but a title given to great lawgivers[6] The actual author or authors of the *Manusamhita* no doubt used the name of Manu to give authority to its rules, for early writers in the Orient often professed to be mere transmitters of ancient tradition and avoided claims to authorship[7]

The date of Manu is a matter of controversy Tradition places the work at the dawn of civilization On the other hand, some historians have attempted to ascribe it to a Brahman pundit in the Sunga dynasty of the second century B C, labeling it a political tract designed to support Brahman rule after the collapse of the Kshatriya authority of the Maurya dynasty[8] So far as the version quoted in this chapter is concerned estimates of date vary all the way from the sixth century B C to the early Christian Era After comparing the various conflicting claims, Kane concludes that our *Code of Manu* was constructed between 200 B C and A D 200, with perhaps an earlier original version[9]

Regardless of date, Manu is more than a law book "It is unquestionably rather to be compared with the great poem of Lucretius, beside which it ranks as the expression of a philosophy of life[10] The breadth of subject matter indicates how all embracing the *Manusamhita* was in laying the foundations for the functioning of the ancient Hindu state Most of the basic political concepts discussed in chapter II are to be found therein These include caste, Kshatriya rule, Brahman advice, and official integrity We find such diverse topics as The Creation, sources of law, marriage, duties of women, the king, judicial procedure, debts, nonpayment of wages, theft, inheritance, and penances[11] The entire work emphasizes the necessity of respect for the Dharma in all aspects of social life The following section on the conduct of the ruler stresses particularly kingly morality and the function of *danda* or punishment[12]

THE MANUSAMHITA

Chapter VII

The King

I will declare the duties of kings, and show how a king should conduct himself, how he was created, and how he can obtain the highest success.

When creatures, being without a king, were through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole creation.

Even an infant king must not be despised, from an idea that he is a mere mortal; for he is a great deity in human form.

Let no man, therefore, transgress that law which the king decrees with respect to those in his favour, nor his orders which inflict pain on those in disfavour.

Having fully considered the time and the place of the offense, the strength and the knowledge of the offender, let him justly inflict that punishment on men who act unjustly.

Punishment alone governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watches over them while they sleep: the wise declare punishment to be identical with the law.

If punishment is properly inflicted after due consideration, it makes all people happy ; but inflicted without consideration, it destroys everything.

If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those deserving to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit.

The whole world is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to find : through fear of punishment the whole world yields the enjoyments which it owes.

They declare that king to be a just inflicter of punishment, who is truthful, who acts after due consideration, who is wise, and who knows the respective value of virtue, wealth, and pleasure.[13]

A king who properly inflicts punishment, prospers with respect to those three means of happiness ; but he who is volup-

tuous, partial, and deceitful will be destroyed, even through the unjust punishment which he inflicts

Punishment possesses a very bright luster, and is hard to be administered by men with unimproved minds, it strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his relatives [14]

Punishment cannot be inflicted justly by one who has no assistant, nor by a fool, nor by a covetous man, nor by one addicted to sensual pleasures

The king has been created to be the protector of the castes and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties

Whatever must be done by him and by his servants for the protection of his people, that I will fully declare to you in due order

Let him daily worship aged Brahmans who know the Veda and are pure, for he who always reveres aged men, is honorued even by Rakshasas [15]

Let him, though he may already be modest constantly learn modesty from them, for a king who is modest never perishes

From those versed in the three Vedas let him learn the threefold sacred science, the primeval science of government, the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the supreme Soul, from the people the theory of the various trades and professions

Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to conquer his senses, for he alone who has conquered his own senses, can keep his subjects in obedience [16]

Let him carefully shun the ten vices, springing from love of pleasure, and the eight, proceeding from wrath, which all end in misery

For a king who is attached to the vices springing from love of pleasure loses his wealth aud his virtue, but he who is given to those arising from anger loses even his life

Hunting, gambling sleeping by day, censoriousness, excess with women, drunkennes, an inordinate love for dancing, sing-

ing, and music, useless travel are the tenfold set of vices springing, from love of pleasure.

Tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, unjust seizure of property, reviling, and assault are the eightfold set of vices produced by wrath.

The greediness which all wise men declare to be the root even of both these sets, let *him carefully* conpuer both these sets, of vices are produced by that.

On a comparison between vice and death, vice is declared to be more pernicious ; a vicious man sinks to the nethermost hell, he who dies, free from vice, ascends to heaven.

The King's Mianisters

Let him appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of wapons and descended from noble families and who have been tried.

Let him daily consider with them the ordinary business, referring to peace and war, the four subjects called *sthana*, the revenue, the manner of protecting himself and his kingdom, and the sanctifications of his gains by picus gifts.[17]

But with the most distinguished among them all, a learned Brahman, *let the king deliberate on the most important affairs which relate to the six measures of royal policy.*[18]

Let him, full of confidence, always entrust to that official all business, having taken his final resolution with him, let him afterward begin to act.

He must also appoint. other officials, men of integrity who are wise, firm, well able to collect money and well tried.

Among them let him employ the brave, the skillful, the highborn, and the honest in offices for the collection of revenue e. g., in mines, manufactures, and storehouses, but the timid in the interior of palace.

Let him also appoint an ambassador who is versed in all sciences, who understands hints, expressions of the face and gestures, who is honest, skillful, and of noble family.

with respect to affairs, let the ambassador explore the expression of the countenance, the gestures and actions of the foreign king through the gestures and actions of his confidential advisers, and discover his designs among his servants

Having learnt exactly from his ambassador the designs of the foreign king, let the king take such measures that he does not bring evil on himself

Let him build a town, making for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or a fortress built of stone and earth, or one protected by water or trees, or one formed by an encampment of armed men or a hillfort

Let him cause to be built for himself, in the center of it, a spacious palace, well protected, habitable in every season, resplendent with whitewash, supplied with water and trees

Inhabiting that, let him wed a consort of equal caste, who possesses auspicious marks on her body, and is born in a great family, who is charming and possesses beauty and excellent qualities

Let him appoint a domestic priest and choose officiating priests , they shall perform his domestic rites and the sacrifices for which three fires are required

Let him cause the annual revenue in his kingdom to be collected by trusty officials, let him obey the sacred law in his transactions with the people, and behave like a father toward all men

Let him honor those Brahmans who have returned from their teacher's house after studying the Veda , for that money which is given to Brahmans is declared to be an imperishable treasure for kings

A king who, while he protects his people, is defied by foes, be they equal in strength, or stronger, or weaker, must not shrink from battle, remembering the duty of Kshatriyas

Not to turn back in battle, to protect the people to honor the Brahmans, is the best means for a king to secure happiness

As the weeder plucks up the weeds and

even so let the king protect his kingdom and destroy his opponents.

Let the king confiscate the whole property of those officials who, evil-minded, may take bribes from suitors, and banish them.

After due eonsideration the king shall always fix in his realm the duties and taxes in such a manner that both he himself and the man who does the work receive their due reward.

As the leech, the calf, and the bee take their food little by little, even so must the king draw from his realm moderate annual taxes.

Let the king make the common inhabitants of his realm who live by trade, pay annually some trifle, which is called a tax.

Mechanics and artisans, as well as Sudras who subsist by manual labour, he may cause to work for himself one day in each month.

Let him not cut up his own root by levying no taxes, nor the root of other men by excessive greed ; for by cutting up his own root or theirs, he makes himself or them wretched.

Let the king, having carefully considered each affair, be both sharp and gentle ; for a king who is both sharp and gentle is highly respected,

The highest duty of a Kshatriya is to protect his subjects, for the king who enjoys privileges is bound to discharge that duty.

He shall gratify all subjects who come to see him, by a kind reception and afterward dismiss them ; having dismissed his subjects, he shall take counsel with his ministers.

Ascending the back of a hill or a terrace, and retiring there in a lonely place, or in a solitary forest, let him consult with them unobserved.

That king whose secret plans other people, though assembled for the purpose, can not discover, will enjoy the whole earth, though he be poor in treasure.

Despicable persons, likewise animals, and particularly women betray secret counsel, for that reason he must be careful with respect to them

At midday or at midnight, when his mental and bodily fatigues are over, let him deliberate, either with himself alone or with his ministers, virtue, pleasure, and wealth

Notes and References

1 See Buhler, *Manu*, P XVII XX

2 Dutt *Dharma Sastra*, I, iii ix, Iyengar, *Hindu Law* p 26

3 Cf Jones, *Institutes of Hindu Law*, p xv, where the root is given as "to think ' thus signifying "wise," Manu is considered cognate of English "man"

4 Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p 440, winternitz, *Indian Literature* I, 575 576

5 According to the *Padma Purana*, See Winternitz, *Indian Literature*, I, 540 541

6 Motwani, *Manu*, pp 245 248 There are said to be fourteen ' Manus ' ruling mankind in succession the Manu of the deluge myth being the seventh, See Thomas, *Hindu Religion*, p 2

7 Cf Waley, *Authorship in early China*

8 See for instance, Vesey-Fitzgerald, *Hindu Law*, p 260

9 *History of Dharmasastra*, I, pp, xxv xxvi

10 Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p 443

11 The ancient law treatises or Dharmashastras usually contained a specific section dealing with the ruler or king and his administration For comparable passages in other codes, consult the following for *Gautama* Buhler, *Sacred Laws*, I, 231 235, for *Vasistha* Buhler, *Sacred Laws*, II, 96, for *Baudhayana* Buhler, *Sacred Laws* II, 199, for *Apastamba* Buhler, *Sacred Laws*, I, 159 For an exhaustive analysis of the *Manusamhita*, consult Jha, *Manu*

12. The *Manusamhita* selection offered here consists of passages from chap. vii. The translation used is Buhler, pp. 216-552. The verse structure is preserved despite the multiple paragraphing in order to illustrate the form of these early metrical treatises.

13. That is, Dharma, Artha, and Kama. See chap. ii

14. Thus Dharma has its own support. See chap. ii. Punishment or *danda* is an essential aspect of universal law. Its supreme importance as the restraining element in the Dharma system, as well as its hazards, is clearly established in these passages.

15. The "Rakshasas" were a class of evil spirits.

16. This theme is repeated by Kautilya, Vyasa, and Sukra.

17. The four *sthana* were considered to be the chief supports of the state, namely : the treasury, the army, the town, the territory. See Buhler, *Manu*, p. 224.

18. "A Learned Brahman" is the traditional chief minister. Kautilya says, "Peace, war, neutrality, marching, alliance, and making peace with one and waging war with another are the six forms of state policy." *Arthasastra* VII 1. 262 : Shamasastry, *Kautilya's Arthasastra*, p. 293.

2

THE RULER IN PEACE AND DISASTER*

Introduction by Mackenzie Brown

His own self must be conquered by the king
for all time,
then only are his enemies to be conquered

Vyasa.

Although the epic period is of uncertain chronology it corresponds to the centuries following the close of the vedic Age and is featured by the creation of India's two great historical epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayanh*[1] These profound didactic poems developed and popularized the philosophical concepts of the Vedic litrature, elaborating, supplementing, modifying, and dramatizing the early ideas The *Mahabharata* describes the tribal warfare between contending Kingdoms in what is now the Delhi region of northern India The Ramayana tells of the exploits of Prince Rama on the Indian peninsula and culminates with his conquest of Ceylon

The *Mahabharata* is recognized as the greater of these epics as a narrative poem has been ranked with the *Iliad* of Homer It is considerably longer than the *Iliad*, but like the Greek epic,

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* From D Mackenzie Brown *The White Umbrella Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi* (First Published in 1953, by the University of California Press, Berkeley, U S A) Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, (2nd ed) 1970 pp 35-48

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it deals with war—that between the Kurus and Panchalas of northern India. From the standpoint of political thought, the most notable part of the *Mahabharata* is that known as the *Santiparvan*, or "book of consolation," which is a compendium of advice, political, ethical, and philosophical.

Vyasa the author, is, like Manu, a mythical figure of uncertain identity. Vyasa means "arranger" or "compiler." Although various authors of antiquity are so designated, the term is used especially as a title of the compiler of the Vedas, who has also been regarded by some as the author of the *Mahabharata*—an assumption which is questionable from chronological and literary standpoints. Just as we find a series of fourteen different Manus, so the Puranas tell of twenty-eight Vyasas who compiled wisdom in different ages. The arranger of the *Mahabharata* is Krishna Dwaipayana Vyasa, and it is between the descendants of his two sons, Dhritarshtra and Pandu, that the *Mahabharata* war is contested.[2]

The date of this war, according to long-standing Hindu tradition, is 3139 B. C.-marking the beginning of the present Kali age of mankind.[3] Various modern scholars, however, place the conflict somewhere between the tenth and fourteenth centuries B. C.[4] The *Mahabharata* itself was Composed over an extended period of time. The original germ of the epic is said by some to have been created as early as 1100 B. C. and to have grown until the sixth century A. D.[5] Winternitz concludes that it attained approximately its present form by the third or fourth century A. D.[6] The oldest existing copy of the *Shantiparvan* is a palm leaf manuscript in the Durbar library of Nepal, dated A.D. 1516. This and other manuscripts are now being collected in the editing of a monumental critical edition.

In its political phases, a notable feature of the *Santiparvan* is the contrast between the rules laid down for normal government and those propounded for critical periods. The section dealing with periods of disaster contains some of the most cold-blodded realism in the history of political theory.[7] Unless the modern reader fully appreciates the tenacity and the restraining power of Dharma in traditional Indian government, he may easily

conclude that cynicism is the guiding tenet of the author of *Santiparvan* But behind all the brutal expediencies there remains an ultimate accountability to the rule of Dharma The code governing the rules of actual warfare is distinguished by its humane spirit [8]

Besides offering a larger body of concepts than Manu relative to the origin and nature of sovereign power, the *Mahabharata* deals with the problems of the *gaans* republics which feature the early Buddhist era [9] In the *Santiparvan* the Indian speculative genius is seen in its richest form, and here also ' the political ideas of the Hindus undoubtedly reached their high water-mark "[10]

THE SANTIPARVAN

The Ruler in Normal Times

One becomes a king for acting in the interests of righteous ness and not for conducting himself capriciously The king is, indeed, the protector of the world If the king acts righteously, he attains to the position of a god On the other hand, if he acts unrighteously, he sinks into hell All creatures grow in the growth of righteousness and decay with its decay Righteousness is called DHARMA The sages, O king, have declared that Dharma restrains and sets bounds to all evil acts of men The Lord created Dharma for the advancement and growth of creatures For this reason, a king should act according to the dictates of Dharma for benefiting his subjects For this reason also, Dharma has been said to be the foremost of all things Disregarding lust and wrath, observe thou the dictates of righteousness Among all things that conduct to the prosperity of kings, righteousness is the foremost

The Shrutis declare that unrighteousness begat a son named Pride upon the goddess of Prosperity This Pride led many among the gods and the Asuras to ruin [11] Many royal sages also have suffered destruction on his account He who succeeds in conquering him becomes a king He, on the other hand who suffers himself to be conquered by him, becomes a slave If thou wishest for an eternal life, live as a king should that does

indulge these two—Pride and Unright eousness !=Abstain from companionship with him that is intoxicated, him that is heedless, him that is a scoffer of religion, him that is insensate, and forbear to pay court to all of them when united.

It is said that the Creator created Power for the object of protecting Weakness is, indeed, a great being, for everything depends upon it. The eyes of the weak, of the muni, and of the snake of virulent poison, should be regarded as unbearable.[12] Do not, therefore, come into hostile contact with the weak. Thou shouldst regard the weak as always subject to humiliation. Take care that the eyes of the weak do not burn thee with thy kinsmen. In a race scorched by the eyes of the weak, no children take birth. Weakness is more powerful than even the greatest Power, for that Power which is scorched by Weakness becomes totally exterminated. If a person, who has been humiliated or struck, fails, while shrieking for assistance, to obtain a protector, divine chastisement overtakes the king and brings about his destruction. Do not, while in enjoyment of Power, take wealth from those that are weak. The tears shed by weeping men abused by falsehoods slay the children and animals of those that have uttered those falsehoods. Like a cow, a sinful act perpetrated does not produce immediate fruits. If the fruit is not seen in the perpetrator himself, it is seen in his son or in his son's son, or daughter's son. When a weak person fails to find a rescuer, the great rod of divine chastisement falls upon the king.

The enjoyment of good things after sharing them with others, paying proper honors to the ministers, and subjugation of persons intoxicated with strength, are said to constitute the great duty of a king. Protecting all men by words, body, and deeds, and never forgiving his son himself if he has offended, constitute the great duty of the king. The maintenance of those that are weak by sharing with them the thing he has and thereby increasing their strength, constitutes the duty of the king. Protection of the kingdom, extermination of robbers, and conquering in battle, constitute the duty of the king. Never to forgive a person, however dear, if he has committed an offense by act or word, constitutes the duty of the king. Protecting

those that solicit shelter as he would protect his own children, constitutes the duty of the king

The king is said to resemble the Thousand-eyed Indra in every respect That should be regarded as righteousness which is regarded as such by him Thou shouldst without being needless cultivate forgiveness, intelligence patience, and the love of all creatures[13] Thou shouldst also ascertain the strength and weakness of all men and learn to distinguish between right and wrong Thou shouldst conduct thyself with propriety toward all creatures, make gifts, and utter agreeable and sweet words Thou shouldst maintain the residents of thy city and the provinces in happinests A king who is not clever never succeeds in protecting his subjects

Sovereignty is very heavy burden to bear Only that king who is possessed of wisdom and courage and who is conversant with the science of chastisement, can protect a kingdom, He on *the other hand who is without energy and intelligence, and who* is not versed in the great science, is incompetent to bear the burden of sovereigny

That king who disregards the righteousness and desired to act with brute force soon falls away from righteousness and loses both righteousness and profit That king who acts according to the counsels of a vicious and sinful minister becomes a destroyer of righteousness and deserves to be slain by his subjects with all his family Indeed he very soon meets with destruction That king who is incompetent to discharge the duties of statecraft, who is governed by caprice in all his acts, and who indulges in brag, soon meets with destruction even if he happens to be ruler of the whole earth That king, on the other hand, who is desirous of prosperity who is free from malice, who has his senses under control, and who is gifted with intelligence, thrives an affluence like the ocean swelling with the waters discharged into it by a hundred streams He should never consider himself to have a sufficiency of virtue, enjoyments, wealth, intelligence, and frieds Upon these depends the conduct of the world

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are devotedly loyal and of pure behavior, and that are possessed of ability That person, who by the possession of such qualifi cations pleases the king and who is never heedless in taking care of the interests of his ruler should be appointed by the king in the affairs of his kingdom On the other hand, the king becomes divested of prosperity by appointing to important offices men that are fools and slaves of their senses that are covetous and of disreputable conduct, that are deceitful and hypocritical, that are malicious, wicked-souled, and ignorant, that are low m nded, and addicted to drink, gambling women, and hunting From ministers that have once been chastised, from women in especial, from mountains and inaccessible regions from elephants and horses and reptiles, the king should always with heedfulness, protect his own self [16]

The Ruler in Times of Disaster

When calamities overtake the king, he should, without losing time, counsel wisely, display his, prowess properly, fight with ability, and even retreat with wisdom In speech only should the king exhibit his humility, but at heart he should be sharp as a razor He should cast off lust and wrath, and speak sweetly and mildly When the occasion comes for negotiating with an enemy, a king possessed of foresight should make peace, without reposing blind trust on him When the business is over, he should quickly turn away from the new ally One should con ciliate a foe with sweet assurances as if he were a friend One, however should always stand in fear of that foe as of a room within which there is a snake The foe whose understanding is to be dominated should be assured by references to the past He who is of wicked understanding should be assured by promises of future good The person, however, that is possessed of wisdom, should be assured by present services The king who is desirous of achieving prosperity should join hands, swear, use sweet words worship by bending down his head, and shed tears One should bear one's foe on one's shoulders as long as time is unfavourable When, however, the opportunity has come, one should break him into fragments like the a stone It is better that a king should bl

person inspired with fear. When, however, the cause of fear comes upon him he should smite fearlessly

No man can reap good without incurring danger If, again he succeeds in preserving his life amid danger, he is sure to earn great benefits A king should ascertain all future dangers, when they are present, he should conquer them, and lest they grow again he should, even after conquering them, think them to be unconquered The abandonment of present happiness and the pursuit of that which is future, is never the policy of a person possessed of intelligence That king who having made peace with a foe sleeps happily in trust fulness is like a man who sleeping on the top of a tree awakes after a fall When one falls into distress one should raise one's self by any means in one's power, mild or stern, and after such rise, when competent, one should practice righteousness

Danger springs from trust Trust should never be placed without previous examination Having by plausible reasons inspired confidence in the enemy, the king should smite him when he makes a false step The king should fear him from whom there is no fear, he should also always fear them that should be feared Fear that arises from an unfear'd one may lead to total extermination Even as certain insects of sharp stings cut off all the flowers and fruits of the trees on which they sit, the king should, after having inspired confidence in his foe by honors and salutations and gifts, turn against him and shear him of everything Without piercing the very vitals of others, without accomplishing many stern deeds, without slaughtering living creatures after the manner of the fisherman, one cannot acquire great prosperity

There is no separate species of creatures called foes or friends Persons become friends or foes according to the force of circumstances[18] The king should never allow his foe to escape even if the foe should indulge in piteous lamentations He should never be moved by these, on the other hand, it is his duty to destroy the person that has done him an injury A king desirous of prosperity should take care to attach to himself as many men as he can, and to do them good In behaving

10. Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 173. The following *Santiparvan* passages have been used in the selections in this volume : chaps. XC, XCI, XCII, XCIII, XCIV, and, CXL. These comprise Vol. VII, pp. 290-304 and 460-467 in Roy's translation.

11. The Asuras are gods in the earliest Vedic literature, but are later considered as evil spirits. In the Rig-Veda the terms is sometimes applied also to the enemies of the gods.

12. The *muni* is a religious ascetic or sage.

13. In this and the following sentences the king addressed directly by the writer.

14. Here we see the traditional emphasis upon the necessity for royal advisers, especially the chief Brahman. The purpose, however, is to insure the king's respect for the rules of the Dharma rather than to provide for popular control of government as same have averred.

15. Cf. Confucius : "The moral charcter of those in high position is the breeze, the character of those below is the grass. When the grass has the breeze upon it, it assuredly bends." *Analects* XII 19 : Soothill, *Analects*, p. 124.

16. The king is here cautioned against riding unruly horses and elephants. As these notes are being written, news accounts tell of the death (March 22, 1952) cf Prime minister Senanayake of Ceylon as a result of head injuries suffered in a fall from a bolting horse.

17. That is, with great deliberation and patience—as the crane calmly waits for the fish.

18. In the international field this is expressed in the *mandala* theory, See chap. V.

19. Cf. Machiavelli : *A prince being thus obliged to know well how to act as a beast must imitate the fox and the lion." *The prince The* XVIII : *Prince and the Discourses*, p. 64.

0. The last warning emphasizes that vyasa does not counsel such ruthlessness in normal times But it is difficult to see how an ambitious ruler would draw a clear line between normality and emergency Presumbaly the Brahman advisers would exercise the restraining influence

3

THE BHAGAVAD GITA

The *Mahabharala*, whose part the *Bhagavat Gita* forms, is said to be written or rather codified by Krishna Dwainapayana Vyasa, c. 900-500 B. C. Consisting of about 220,000 lines, the *Mahabharata* is the longest epic poem in the world. Its Kernel is the story of the descendents of Bharata, son of King Dushyanta and Shakuntala, viz., the Pandavas and their cousins the Kauravas. The story goes that the Kauravas being envious of the prosperity of the Pandavas, fraudulently deprive them of their Kingdom and send them into thirteen years of exile, at end of which they engage them in a bitter and futile war at Kurukshetra (near Delhi, on the way to Chandigarh). At the end of the war, the Kauravas are completely destroyed and the Pandavas rule the Kingdom. While the story of the *Mahabharata* accounts for only one fifth of this great epic, woven in to it are a great many works of philosophy, religion, astronomy, cosmology, polity, economics, sociology, as well as innumerable legends anecdotes, and didactic works, The *Bhagavad Gita* is one such inclusion, and is a poem in the form of a dialogue between the Pandava, hero-Arjuna, and his Charioteer, Krishna (*avatara* of God Vishnu), on the battlefield of Kuruksnetra. In this metaphysical dialogue, Sanjaya, counsellor to the blind king Dhritarastra, relates to him the entire battle between his sons (Kauravas) and his brother's children (Pandavas). Starting with a reference to the war at Kurukshetra this metaphysical dialogue turns out to be a discussion of the important ideas and doctrines relating to the individual self (*atman*), the universal self (*Brahman*

ne nature of human action (*Karma*), the problem of evil in ociety, the phenomenon of divine incarnation (*avatara*) and ne nature of loving-faith (*Bhakti*) The selection "Action is reater than Inaction" deals with the nature of human action in he cosmic sense.

BHAGAVAD GITA[1]

DHRITA RASHTRA

1. On the field of Truth, on the battle-field of life, what came to pass, Sanjaya, when my sons and their warriors faced those of my brother Pandu ?

SANJAYA

2. When your son Duryodhana saw the armies of the sons of Pandu he went to his master in the art of war and spoke to him these words :

---

1. Dhrita-rashtra. After the death of King Pandu, his blind brother Dhrita-rashtra succeeds to the throne. Because of jealousy and rivalry between his one hundred son (Kauravas, eldest son Duryodhana) and the five sons of Pandu (Pandavas : Yudhishthir, Bhima, Arjuna, Nukula, and Sahadeva), the kingdom is divided. However, in a fraudulent game of dice, the Kauravas cheat Pandavas of their kingdom and send them into thirteen years of exile At the end of this period, Krishna pleads for the restoration of the rights of Pandavas but Duryodhana refuses to yield anything Finally both sides prepare for war at Kurukshetra At that time rishi Vyasa grants a boon of vision to Sanjaya, a courtier, so that he could see the whole battlefield and relate the events to the blind king The Bhagavad Gita begins at this point

2. The opening line, Dharmakshetre Kurukshetra, symbolically refers to the battlefield at Kurukshetra as Dharmakshetre or a battlefield for upholding the moral law (Dharma) Cf Dante's journey in the Divine Comedy symbolizing the mental quest for the 'Kingdom of Heaven' within.

3. See there, master, the vast army of the Pandavas well set in order of battle by the son of Drupada, your own wise pupil.

4. There can we see heroic warriors, powerful archers, as great as Bhima and Arjuna in battele : Yuyudhana and Virata and king Drupada of the great chariot of war.

5. And Dhrishte-Ketu of the steadfast banner, and Chekitana the king of the Chedis. We see the heroic king of Kasi, and Purujit the conqueror, and his brother Kunti-bhoja, and Saibya mighty among men.

6. And victorious Yudhamanyu, and powerful Uttamaujas; and Saubhadra, the son of Arjuna and the five princes of queen Draupadi. See them all in their chariots of war.

7. But hear also the names of our greatest warriors, the leaders of my own army. I will bring them to your memory.

8. There is yourself, my master in war, and also Bhishma, old and wise. There is Karna, the enemy of Arjuna, his half-brother, and Kripa, victor of battles. There is your own son Asvatthama, and also my brother Vikarna. There is Saumadatti, king of the Bahikas.

9. And many other heroic warriors ready to give their lives for me ; all armed with manifold weapons, and all of them masters of war.

10. We can number our armies led by Bhishma, but innumerable seem their armies led by Bhima.

11. Stand therefore all firm in the line of battle. Let us all defend our leader Bhishma.

12. To encourage Duryodhana, Bhishma, the glorious old warrior of the Kurus, sounded loud his war-cry like the roar of a lion, and then blew his far-sounding conch-shell.

---

3. Drupada : king of Panchala, and father of Draupadi, wife of the Pandavas.

3-11 Cf. the epic convention of listing heroes and ships in Homer.

13 Then the rumbling of war drums the stirring sound of cymbals and trumpets, and the roaring of conchshells and horns filled the sky with a fearful thunder

14 Thereupon Krishna of Madhava and Arjuna, the son of Pandu standing in their glorious chariot drawn by white horses, answered the challenge and blew their divine conchshells

15 Krishna, the Lord of the soul blew his conch shell Pancha janya Arjuna, the winner of treasure sounded forth his own Deva datta His brother Bhima, of tremendous feats, blew his great conch shell the Paundra

16 Their eldest brother, king Yudhishthira, sounded his Eternal-Victory , and Nakula and Sahadeva the Sweet-sounding and the Jewel blossom

17 And the king of Kasi of the powerful bow, and Sikhandi of the great war chariot Dhrishta dyumna and Virata, and Satyaki the never conquered ,

18 And king Drupada and the sons of his daughter Draupadi , and Saubhadra, the heroic son of Arjuna, sounded from all sides their conch shells of war

19 At that fearful sound the earth and the heavan trembled, and also trembled the hearts of Duryodhana and his warriors

20 The flight of arrows was now to begin, and Arjuna, on whose banner was the symbol of an ape, saw Duryodhana

---

14 Both Krishna and Arjuna are referred to in this poem by various epithets

Krishna Hrsikesa (lord of senses) , Govinda (lord of cattle) , Vasudeva (son of Vasudeva) Narayana (Man divine) Madhusudana (slayer of demon Madhu) , Janardhana (liberator of man) Achyuta (immovable imperishable) Partha sarathi (charioteer of Partha or Arjuna) etc

Arjuna Pandava (son of Pandu), Bharata (descendant of Bharata), Partha (son of Pritha or Kunti) , Gudakesha (having long hair tied like a ball) Dhanamjaya (winner of wealth

and his warriors drawn up in their lines of battle. He thereupon took up his bow.

21. And spoke these words to Krishna.

ARJUNA

Drive my chariot, Krishna immortal, and place it between the two armies.

22. That I mav see those warriors who stand there eager for battle, with whom I must now fight at the beginning of this war.

28. That I may see those who have come here eager and ready to fight, in their desire to do the will of the evil son of *Dhrita-rashtra.*

SANJAYA

24. When Krishna heard the words of Arjuna he drove their glorious chariot and placed it between the two armies.

25. And facing Bhishma and Drona and other royal rulers he said : 'See, Arjuna, the armies of the Kurus, gathered here on this field of battle !

26. Then Arjuna saw in both armies fathers, grandfathers, sons,

27. grandsons ; fathers of wives, uncles, masters ; brothers, companions

28. and friends.

When Arjuna thus saw his kinsmen face to face in both lines of battle, he was overcome by grief and despair and thus he spoke with a sinking heart.

ARJUNA

When I see all my kinsmen, Krishna, who have come here on this field of battle.

29. Life goes from my limbs and they sink, and my mouth is sear and dry ; a trembling overcomes my body, and my hair shudders in horror ;

30 My great bow Gandıva falls from my hands, and the skı over my flesh ıs burnıng , I am no longer able to stand because my mınd ıs whırlıng and wanderıng

31 And I see forebodıngs of evıl, Krıshna I cannot forese any glory ıf I kıll my own kınsmen ın the sacrıfice o battle

32 Because I have no wısh for vıctory, Krıshna nor for kıngdom nor for ıts pleasures How can we want a kıng dom, Govında or ıts pleasures or even lıfe

33 When those for whom we want a kıngdom, and ıt pleasures, and the joys of lıfe are here ın thıs field o battle about to gıve up theır wealth and theır lıfe ?

34 Facıng us ın the field of battle are teachers, fathers an sons grandsons, grandfathers, wıves, brothers mothers brothers and fathers of wıves

35 These I do not wısh to slay, even ıf I myself slaın No even for the kıngdom of the three worlds how much les for a kıngdom of the earth

36 If we kıll these evıl men evıl shall fall upon us wha joy ın theır death could we have, O Janardhana, mover o souls ?

37 I cannot therefore kıll my own father What happınes could we over enjoy, ıf we kılled our own kınsmen ı battle ?

38 Even ıf they, wıth mınds overcome by greed, see no evıl ı the destructıon of a famıly, see no sın ın the treacher—y t frıends ,

39 Shall we not, who see the evıl of destructıon, shall we no refraın from thıs terrıble deed ?

40 The destructıon of a famıly destroys ıts rıtuals of rıghte ousness, and when the rıghteous rıtuals are no more unrıghteousness overcomes the whole famıly

41 When unrıghteous dısorder prevaıls, the women sın an are ımpure , and when women are not pure, Krıshna ther ıs dısorder of castes, socıal confusıon

KRISHNA

11. Thy tears are for those beyond tears ; and are thy words words of wisdom ? The wise grieve not for those who live ; and they grieve not for those who die—for life and death shall pass away.

12. Because we all have been for all time : I and thou, and those kings of men. And we all shall be for all time, we all for ever and ever.

13. As the Spirit of our mortal body wanders on in childhood, and youth and old age, the Spirit wanders on to a new body : of this the sage has no doubts.

14. From the world of the senses, Arjuna, comes heat and comes cold, and pleasure and pain. They come and they go : they are transient. Arise above them, strong soul.

15. The man whom these cannot move, whose soul is one, beyond pleasure and pain, is worthy of life in Eternity.

16. The unreal never is : the Real never is not. This thruth indeed has been seen by those who can see the true.

17. Interwoven in his creation, the Spirit is beyond destruction. No one can bring to an end the Spirit which is everlasting.

18. For beyond time he dwells in these bodies, though these bodies have an end in their time ; but he remains immeasurable, immortal. Therefore, great warrior, carry on thy fight.

19. If any man thinks he slays, and if another thinks he is slain, neither knows the ways of truth. The Eternal in man connot die.

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30. From the cosmic point of view, one who really understands does not grieve ; for the essence (self, spirit, atman) within the individual, being eternal. That was, is, and will be, while the existential phases like childhood, youth, manhood, age or cycles of birth and death, pass away ; the wise do not confuse the two nor grieve for the imperishable. One can only have a visionary understanding of the essence but cannot know That through learning

20. Cf. Katha Upanishad II. 18-19. Cf. Emerson's poem Brahma :

20 He is never born, and he never dies He is in Eternity he is for evermore Never-born and eternal beyond times gone or to come, he does not die when the body dies

21 When a man knows him as never born everlasting never changing, beyond all destruction how can that man kill a man, or cause another to kill ?

22 As a man leaves an old garment and puts on one that is new the Spirit leaves his mortal body and wanders on to one that is new

23 Weapons cannot hurt the Spirit and fire can never burn him Untouched is he by drenching waters untouched is he by parching winds

24 Beyond the power of sword and fire, beyond the power of waters and winds, the Spirit is everlasting, omni present, never-changing, never-moving, ever One

25 Invisible is he to mortal eyes, beyond thought and beyond change—Know that he is, and cease from sorrow

26 But if he were born again and again and again and again he were to die, even then, victorious man, cease thou from sorrow

27 For all things born in truth must die, and out of death in truth comes life Face to Face with what must be, cease thou from sorrow

28 Invisible before birth are all beings and after death invisi ble again They are seen between two unseens Why in this truth find sorrow ?

If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep and pass and turn again

22 Plato, Crito Crito 'In what way shall we bury you, Socrates ?' Socrates 'In any way you like, but first you must catch me, the real me Be of good cheer, my dear Crito and say that you are bury ing my body only and do with that whatever is usual '

27 Cf Buddha's parable of the mustard seed to Kisa Gotami

20 He is never born, and he never dies He is in Eternity he is for evermore Never-born and eternal, beyond times gone or to come, he does not die when the body dies

21. When a man knows him as never born everlasting, never-changing, beyond all destruction how can that man kill a man, or cause another to kill ?

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28 Invisible before birth are all beings and after death invisible again They are seen between two unseen. Why in this truth find sorrow ?

If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep and pass and turn again.

22 Plato, Crito Crito 'In what way shall [illegible] Socrates 'In any way you like, but [illegible] real me Be of good cheer, my dear Crito [illegible] ing my body only and do with [illegible]'

27 Cf Buddha's parable of the mustard seed [illegible]

29. One sees him in a vision of wonder, and another gives us words of his wonder. There is one who hears of his wonder ; but he hears and knows him not.

30. The Spirit that is in all beings is immortal in them all : for the death of what cannot die, cease thou to sorrow.

31. Think thou also of thy duty and do not waver. There is no greater good for a warrior than to fight in righteous war.

32. There is a war that opens the doors of heaven, Arjuna ! Happy the warriors whose fate is to fight such war.

33. But to forgo this fight for righteousness is to forgo thy duty and honour : is to fall into transgression.

34. Men will tell of thy dishonour both now and in times to come. And to a man who is in honour, dishonour is more than death.

35. The great warriors will say that thou has run from the battle through fear : and those who thought great things of thee will speak of thee in scorn.

36. And thine enemies will speak of thee in contemptuous words of ill-will and derision, pouring scorn upon thy courage. Can there be for a warrior a more shameful fate ?

37. In death thy glory in heaven, in victory thy glory on earth. Arise therefore, Arjuna, with thy soul ready to fight.

31-9. From the social point of view there is no greater duty for a warrior than to do battle in a war that is for the upholding of the moral law. In an organized society there is no one who has no duty, for the organism can be sustained only when all the elements function in a cooperative and cumulative way. A worrior who abandons his duty at time of lawful war is like a carpenter who *plays the fiddle* when he should perform an operation. Such abandonment of expected duty will bring about a collapse of the social organization. Disregarding the contraries of pleasure and pain, and consequence of gain or loss, one who knows his place in society performs his duty. This is the wisdom one acquires from the discipline of knowledge or learning.

44. Those who love pleasure and power hear and follow their words : they have not the determination ever to be one with the one.

45. The three Gunas of Nature are the world of the Vedas. Arise beyond the three Gunas, Arjuna ! Be in Truth eternal, beyond earthly opposites. Beyond gains and possessions, possess thine own soul.

46. As is the use of a well of water where water everywhere overflows, such the use of all the Vedas to the seer of the Supreme.

47. Set thy heart upon they work, but never on its reward. Work not for a reward ; but never cease to thy work.

48. Do thy work in the peace of yoga and, free from selfish desires, be not moved in success or in failure. Yoga is evenness of mind—a peace that is ever the same.

49. Work done for a reward is much lower than work done in the Yoga of wisdom. Seek salvation in the wisdom of reason. How poor those work for a reward.

50. In this wisdom a man goes beyond what is well done and what is not well done, Go thou therefore to wisdom : Yoga is wisdom in work.

51. Seers in union with wisdom forsake the rewards of their work, and free from the bonds of birth they go to the abode of salvation.

52. When thy mind leaves behind its dark forest of delusion, thou shalt go beyond the scriptures of times past and still to come.

53. When thy mind, that may be wavering in the contradictions of many scriptures, shall rest unshaken in divine contemplation, then the goal of Yoga is thine.

ARJUNA

54. How is the man of tranquil wisdom, who abides in divine contemplation ? What are his words ? What is his silence ? What is his work ?

KRISHNA

55 When a man surrenders all desires that come to heart and by the grace of God finds the joy of God then his soul has indeed found peace

56 He whose mind is untroubled by sorrows and for pleasures he has no longings beyond passion, and fear and anger, he is the sage of unwavering mind

57 Who everywhere is free from all ties, who neither rejoices nor sorrows if fortune is good or is ill, his is a serene wisdom

58 When in recollection he withdraws all his senses from the attractions of the pleasures of sense, even as a tortoise withdraws all its limbs, then his is a serene wisdom

59 Pleasures of sense but not desires, disappear from the austere soul Even desires disappear when the soul has seen the Supreme

60 The restless violence of the senses impetuously carries away the mind of even a wise man striving towards perfection

61 Bridging them all into the harmony of recollection, let him sit in devotion and union, his soul finding rest in me For when his senses are in harmony, then his is a serene wisdom

62 When a man dwells on the pleasures of sense, attraction for them arises in him From attraction arises desire, the lust of possession, and this leads to passion, to anger

63 From passion comes confusion of mind, then loss of remembrance, the forgetting of duty From this loss comes the ruin of reason, and the ruin of reason leads man to destruction

64 But the soul that moves in the world of the senses and yet keeps the senses in harmony free from attraction and aversion, finds rest in quietness.

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62 3 Evil in human society is caused by human actions, misguided by passions and their cumulative consequences.

65. In this quietness falls down the burden of all her sorrows, for when the heart has found quietness, wisdom has also found peace.

66. There is no wisdom for a man without harmony, and without harmony there is no contemplation. Without contemplation there cannot be peace, and without peace can there be joy?

67. For when the mind becomes bound to a passion of the wandering senses, this passion carries away man's wisdom, even as the wind drives a vessel on the waves.

68. The man who therefore in recollection withdraws his senses from the pleasures of sense, his is a serene wisdom.

69. In the dark night of all beings awakes to Light the tranquil man. But what is day to other beings is night for the sage who sees.

70. Even as all waters flow into the ocean, but the ocean never overflows, even so the sage feels desires, but he is ever one in his infinite peace.

71. For the man who forsakes all desires and abandons all pride of possession and of self reaches the goal of peace supreme.

72. This is the Eternal in man, O Arjuna. Reaching him all delusion is gone. Even in the last hour of his life upon earth, man can reach the *Nirvana* of Brahman—man can find peace in the peace of his God.

Discipline of Action

(3)

ARJUNA

1. If thy thought is that vision is greater than action, why dost thou enjoin upon me the terrible action of war?

2. My mind is in confusion because in thy words I find contradictions. Tell me in truth therefore by what path may I attain the Supreme.

KRISHNA

3 In this worlds there are two roads of perfection, as I told thee before, 0 prince without sin Jnana Yoga, the path of wisdom of the Sankhyas, and Karma Yoga, the path of action of the Yogis

4. Not by refraining from action freedom from action Not by mere renunciation does he attain supreme perfection

5 For not even for a moment can a man be without action Helplessly are all driven to action by the forces born of Nature

6 He who withdraws himself from actions, but ponders on their pleasures in his heart, he is under a delusion and is a false follower of the Path,

7 But great is the man who, free from attachments, and with a mind ruling its powers in harmony, works on the path of Karma Yoga, the path of consecrated action

8 Action is grealer than inaction perform therefore thy task in life Even the life of the body could not be if there were no action

9 The world is in the bonds of action, unless the action is consecration Let thy actions then be pure, free from the bonds of desire

10 Thus spoke the Lord of Creation when he made both man and sacrifice 'By sacrifice thou shalt multiply and obtain all thy desires

11 By sacrifice shalt thou honour the gods and the gods will then love thee And thus in harmony with them shalt thou attain the supreme good

12 "For pleased with they sacrifice, the gods will grant to thee the joy of all thy desires Only a thief would enjoy their gifts and not offer them in sacrifice "

13 Holy men who take as food the remains of sacrifice become free from all their sins but the unholy who have feasts for themselves eat food that is in truth sin

14 Food is the life of all beings, and all food comes from rain

above. Sacrifice brings the rain from heaven, and sacrifice is sacred action.

15. Sacred action is described in the Vedas and these come from the Eternal, and therefore is the Eternal everpresent in a sacrifice.

16. Thus was the Wheel of the Law set in motion, and that man lives indeed in vain who in a sinful life of pleasures helps not in its lutions.

17. But the man who has found the joy of the Spirit and in the Spirit has satisfaction, who in the Spirit has found his peace, that man is beyond the law of action.

18. He is beyond what is done and beyond what is not done, and in all his works he is beyond the help of mortal beings.

19. In liberty from the bonds of attachment, do thou therefore the work to be done : for the man whose work is pure attains indeed the Supreme.

20. King Janaka and other warriors reached perfection by the path action : let thy aim be the good of all, and then carry on thy task in life.

21. In the actions of the best men others find their rule of action. The path that a great man follows becomes a guide to the world.

22. I have no work to do in all the worlds, Arjuna—for these are mine. I have nothing to obtain because I have all. And yet I work.

23. If I was not bound to action, never-tiring. everlastingly, mean that follow many paths would follow my path of inaction.

24. If ever my work had an end, these worlds would end in destruction, confusion would reign within all : this would be the death of all beings.

25. Even as the unwise work selfishly for the good of all the world.

26. Let not the wise disturb the mind of the unwise on their

selfish work Let him, working with devotion, show them the joy of good work

27 All actions take place in time by the interweaving of the forces of Nature but the man lost in selfish delusion thinks that he himself is the actor

28 But the man who knows the relation between the forces of Nature and actions sees how some forces of Nature work upon other forces of Nature, and becomes not their slave

29 Those who are under the delusion of the forces of Nature bind themselves to the work of these forces Let not the wise man who sees the All disturb the unwise who sees not the All

30 Offer to me all thy works and rest thy mind on the Supreme Be free from vain hopes selfish thoughts and with inner peace fight thou they fight

31 Those who ever follow my doctrine and who have faith, and have a good will find through pure work their freedom

32 But those who follow not my doctrine , and who have ill-will, are men blind to all wisdom, confused in mind they are lost

33 "Even a wise man acts under the impulse of his nature all beings follow nature Of what use is restraint ?"

34 Hate and lust for things of nature have their roots in man's lower nature Let him not fall under their power they are the two enemies in his path

35 And do thy duty, even if it be humble, rather than another's, even if it be great To die in one's duty is life to live in another's is death

4

THE RAMAYANA

Having the story of Rama, mentioned in the Third Book of the *Mahabharata* as the central theme, the Ramayana of Valmiki, (c. 600-300 B.C.) in seven books, deals mainly with idealistic attitudes and domestic virtues. Thus the poet has taken pains to depict ideal family relations where-in the son takes his father's work as his commandment; an ideal wife who remaining faithful to her marriage vow, follows her husband from place to place to forest, like a 'shadow to the substance', and the younger brothers, who adhering to the tradition, instead of coveting the elder brother's throne, renounce their claims.

The epic is about the ancient traditions of two powerful races, the Kosalas and the Videhas, who lived in Northern India, between the 12th and 10th centuries B.C. (The names Kosala and Videha in singular form indicate the kingdom of Oudh and north Bihar, and in the plural the ancient races which inhabited those two countries). According to the epic, Dasa-ratha, king of the Kosals had four sons, the eldest of whom was Rama, the hero of the poem. And Janak, king of the Videhas, had a daughter named Sita who was miraculously born of a field furrow, and who is the heroine of the poem. The selection included here is a description of Ayodhya, Dasa-ratha's capital.

AYODHYA, THE RIOHTEOUS CITY*

Rich in royal worth and valour, rich in holy Vedic lore, Dasa-ratha ruled his empire in the happy days of yore Loved of men in fair Ayodha, sprung of acient Solar Race, Royal rishi in his duty, saintly rishi in his grace Great as Indra in his powers, bounteous as Kuvera kind, Dauntless deeds subdued his foemen, lofty faith subdued his mind Like the ancient monarch Manu, father of the human race Dasa rutha ruled his people with a father s loving grace Truth and Justice swayed each action and each baser motive quelled People's Love and Monarch's Duty every thought and deed impelled, And his town like Indra's city-tower and dome and turrent brave Rose in proud and peerless beauty on Sarayu's limpid wave Peaceful lived the righteous people, rich in wealth in merit high, Envy dwelt not in their bosoms and their accents shaped no lie Fathers with their happy households owned their cattle, corn and gold

Galling penury and famine in Ayodhya had no hold

Neighbours lived in mutual kindness helpful with their ample wealth None who begged the wasted refuse, none who lived by fraud and stealth

And they wore the gem and earring wreath and fragrant sandal paste And their arms were decked with bracelets, and their necks with mishkas graced

Cheat and braggart and deceiver lived not in the ancient

* From John B Alphonso Karkala (ed)
An Anthology of Indian Literature (penguin Bocks 1971), pp 152-154

town. Proud despiser of the lowly wore not insults in their frown. Poorer fed not the richer, hireling friend upon the great, None with low and lying accents did upon the proud man wait ; Men to plighted vows were faithful was each loving wife, Impure thought and wandering fancy stained not holy wedded life. Robed in gold and graceful garments, fair in from and fair in face, Winsome were Ayodhya's daughters, rich in wit and woman's grace. Twice-born men were free from passion, lust of gold and impure greed Faithful to their Rites and Scriptures, truthful in their word and deed.

Altars blazed in every mansion, from each home was bounty given, Stopped no man to fulsome falsehood, questioned none the will of Heaven.

Kahatras bowed to holy Brahmans, Vaisyas to the Kshatras bowed, Toiling Sudras lived by labour, of their honest duty proud. To the Gods and to the Fathers, to each guest in virtue trained, Rites were done with true devotion as by holy writ ordained.' Pure each caste in due observance, stainless was each ancient rite, And the nation thrived and prospered by its old and matchless might, And each man in truth abiding lived a long and peaceful life, With his sons and with his grandsons, with his loved and honoured wife.

Thus was ruled the ancient city by her monarch true and bold, As the earth was ruled by Manu in the misty days of old. Troops who never turned in battle, fierce as fire and strong and brave.

Guarded well her lofty ramparts as the lions the guard cave. Steeds like Indra's in their swiftness came from far Kamboja's land, from Vanaya and Vahlika and from Sindhu's rock-bound strand, Elephants of mighty stature from the Vindhya mountains came, or from deep and darksome forests round Himalay's peaks of fame, Matchless in their mighty prowess, peerless in their wondrous speed. Nobler than the noble tuskers sprung from high celestial breed. Thus Ayodhya, 'virgin-city'—faithful to her haughty name-Ruled by righteous Dasa-ratha won a world-embrac-

ing fame. Strong-barred gates and lofty arches, tower and dome and turret high Decked the vast and peopled city fair as mansions of the sky. Queens of proud and peerless beauty born of houses rich in fame, Loved of royal Dasa-ratha to his happy mansions, came Queen Kausalya blessed with vistue true and righteous Rama bore, Queen Kaikeyi young and beauteous bore him Bharat rich in lore, Queen Sumitra bore the bright twins, Lakshman and Satrughna bold, Four brave princes served their father in the happy days of old

5

BUDDHA

Gautama Siddharta (563-483 B.C.) was the Prince of Sakyas, a kingdom on the foothills of the Himalayan mountains with its capital at Kapilavastu. At the age of 29, he embarked on a spiritual quest, leaving behind his wife and a son in the palace, and abandoing his throne. It is said that, dissociating himself from historical tradition and Brahminic rituals, he sought to reform society and its spiritual attitudes by reasserting the upanishadic spirit of free inquiry into the sufferings of mankind. It was at the age of 35 that he finally attained his enlightenment and become the Buddha. For the next fortyfive years he taught his own way of life, and after his death his teachings paved the establishment of a new religion called Buddhism.

Following the death of Buddha in 483 B.C., his disciples held the First Great Council in 477 B.C. at Rajagriha. These men recalled the sermons, sayings, and rules as laid down by Buddha and codified them into the *Tipitaka* or the Three Testaments, divided into : (a) *Vinaya Pitaka*, containing rules of discipline concerning the *Sangha* or the Order of Disciples ; (b) *Sutta Pitaka*, containing sermons and sayings of Buddha ; and (c) *Abhidamma Pitaka*, containing commentaries of the *Sutat pitaka* and philosophical analysis of the sermons.

In his first sermon, given at Benares after seven years of spiritual quest and final enlightenment, Buddha crystallized the essence of his prolonged meditation on the human condition.

In it he laid down his testament of faith, prescribing a necessary basis for a good life, and laying down the foundation of a just society on earth Rejecting the metaphysical and theological dogmas as propounded by the Brahmins, he maintained that his 'way' is besed on human experience and comprises Four Noble Truths and the Eight fold Path, and that these would be sufficient to provide a humanistic basis for an existential ethics

KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS*

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully-Enlightened One.

1. Thus have I heard The Blessed One was once staying at Benares, at the hermitage called Migadaya And there the Blessed One addressed the company of the five Bhikkhus, and said :

2. There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions ; and especially of sensuality—a low and pagan way (of seeking satisfaction), unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the wordly-minded—and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism (or self mortification), which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable

3. There is a middle path, O Bhikkus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace cf mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana.

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* From B Alphonso-Karkala (ed) : An Anthology of Indian Literature (penguin Books : 1971), pp 230-236

1 Five Bhikkhus : five monks who had waited on the Buddha during his austerities, and became his first disciples . Kondanna, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahanama, and Assagi

3 Tathagata · an epithet of Buddha, meaning one who has alread gone through the Path.

4. What is that middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana? Verily: it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech,
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right comtemplation.

This O Bhikkhus, is that middle path, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana:

5. Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering. Birth is attended with pain, decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful. painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful. In brief, the five aggregates which spring from attachment (the conditions of individuality and their cause) are painful.

This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

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5. Cf. Dhammapada, XIV. 190-2

Five aggregates: five Skandhas or factors which create the temporal continuity of indirdual personality, namely the body, feeling, ideas, volitions, and conscious awareness. Physical body is not dualistically separated from the mental factors, but the five elements are held together under the concept of 'momentariness' like the flame, or the river.

6 Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering

Verily, it is that thirst (or craving), causing the renewal of suffering

Verily, it is that thirst (or craving), causing the renewal of existence, accompanied by sensual delight, seeking satisfaction now here, now there-that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for (a future) life, or the craving for success (in this present life)

This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the *origin of suffering*

7 Now this O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering

Verily, it is the destruction, in which no passion remains, of this very thirst, the laying aside of, the getting rid of, being free from, the harbouring no longer of this thirst

This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering

8 Now this O Bhikkhus is the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow Verily it is *this noble eightfold path that is to say*

This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow

Right views,
Right aspirations,
Right speech,
Right conduct,
Right livelihood,
Right effort,
Right mindfulness, and
Right contemplation

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6 The Middle Path does not complitely deny desire or body, denies only lust or thirst or craving or excessively

9. That this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down, but there arose within me the eye (to 'perceive it), there arose the knowledge (of its nature), there arose the understanding (of its cause), there arose the wisdom (to guide in the path of tranquility), there arose the light (to dispel darkness from it).

10. And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should comprehend that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

11. And again. O Bhikkhus, that I had comprehend that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

12. That this was the noble truth concerning the origin of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye ; but there arose within me ihe knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisnom, there arose the light.

13. And again, O Bhikkhus, that I shoned pit away the origin of sorrowthough the noble truth con-cerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

14. And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had fully put away the origin of sorrow. though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

9-20. Threefold realization of the meaning of each of the four Noble Truths, e.g. (i) the recognition of the Truth ; (2) the need to comprehened it.

(3) realization of it in practice.

9-11. First Noble Truth concerning Sorrow (Dukkha)

12-14. Second Noble Truth concerning the origin of sorrow (Tanha).

15 That this, O Bhikkhus, was the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding there arose the wisdom, there arose the light

16 And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should fully realize the destruction of sorrow though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light

17 And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had fully realize destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within the eye, there arose the understanding there arose the wisdom, there arose the light

18 That this was the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down , but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light

19 And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light

20 And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light

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18 20 Four Noble Truths concerning the Middle Path

21. So long O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were not quite clear, regarding each of these four noble truths in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner—so long was I uncertain whether I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth; among the whole race of Samanas and Brahmans, or of gods or men.

22. But as soon, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were quite clear regarding each of these four noble truth, in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner-then did I become certain that I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and Brahmans or of gods or men.

23. And now this knowledge and this insight has arisen within me. Immovable is the emancipation of my heart. This is my last existence. There will now be no rebirth for me !

24. Thus spake the Blessed One. The company of the five Bhikkhus, glad at heart, exalted the words of the Blessed One. And when the discourse had been uttered, there arose within the venerable Kondanna the eye of truth, spotless, and without a stain, (and he saw that) whatsoever has an origin, in that is also inherent the necessity of coming to an end.

25. And when the royal chariot wheel of the truth had thus been set rolling onwards by the Blessed One, the gods of the earth gave forth a shout, saying :

In Benares, at the hermitage of the Migadaya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any Samana or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mara, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back !

26. And when they heard the shout of the gods of the earth, the attendant gods of the four great kings (the guardian angels of the four quarters of the globe) gave forth a shout, saying :

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21. Samanas and Brahmans : practitioners of the Vedic religion.
24. Kondana : one of the disciples.
25. Mara : Evil One.

In Benares, at the hermitage of the Migadaya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One-that wheel which not by any Samana or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mara, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back !

27 (And thus as the gods in each of the heavens heard the shout of the inhabitants of the heaven beneath they took up the cry until the gods in the highest heaven of heavens) gave forth the shout, saying

In Benares at the hermitage of the Migadaya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any Samana or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mara, not by any one in the universe can ever be turned back ,

28 And thus, in an instant, a second, a moment, the sound went up even to the world of Braham and this great ten thousand world system quacked and trebled and was shaken violently and an immesurale bright light appeared in the universe, beyond even the power of the gods !

29 Then did the Blessed One give utterance to this exclamation of joy 'Kondanna hath realized it Kondanna hath realized it And so the venerable Kondanna acquired the name of Annata Kondanna (the Kandanna who realized)

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29 The Maha Vagya completes the narrative as follows And then the vererable Annata Kondanna having seen the truth having arrived at the truth having known the truth having penetrated the truth having passed beyond doubt having laid aside uncertainty having attained to confidence and being dependent on no one beside himself for knowledge of the religion of the teacher, spake thus to the Blessed One

' May I become O my Lord a novice under the Blessed One, may I receive full ordination '

' Welcome O brother " said the Blessed One, the truth has been well laid down Practise holiness to the complete suppression of sorrow

' And that was the ord nation of the Venerable One

The other four Vappa Bhaddiya Mahanama, and Assegi were converted on the following days (Rhys Davids)

21. So long O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were not quite clear, regarding each of these four noble truths in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner—so long was I uncertain whether I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth; among the whole race of Samanas and Brahmans, or of gods or men.

22. But as soon, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were quite clear regarding each of these four noble truth, in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner-then did I become certain that I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and Brahmans or of gods or men.

23. And now this knowledge and this insight has arisen within me. Immovabie is the emancipation of my heart. This is my last existence. There will now be no rebirth for me !

24. Thus spake the Blessed One. The company of the five Bhikkhus, glad at heart, exalted the words of the Blessed One. And when the discourse had been uttered, there arose within the venerable Kondanna the eye of truth, spotless, and without a stain, (and he saw that) whatsoever has an origin, in that is also inherent the necessity of coming to an end.

25. And when the royal chariot wheel of the truth had thus been set rolling onwards by the Blessed One, the gods of the earth gave forth a shout, saying :

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29. The Maha Vagya completes the narrative as follows : And then the venerable Annata-Kondanna having seen the truth having arrived at the truth, having known the truth, having penetrated the truth, having passed beyond doubt, having laid aside uncertainty, having attained to confidence, and being dependent on no one beside himself for knowledge of the religion of the teacher, spake thus to the Blessed One ;

"May I become, O my Lord, a novice under the Blessed One, may I receive full ordination "

' Welcome, O brother ." said the Blessed One, "the truth has been well laid down Practise holiness to the complete suppression of sorrow "

"And that was the ordination of the Venerable One The other four, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahanama, and Assaji were converted on the following days (Rhys Davids)

6

CHANAKYA KAUTILYA

Chanakya Kautilya was a contemporary of Aristotle and a practical statesman who, singlehanded, engineered a coup d'etat that overthrew the Magadha Empire and by placing Chandragupta on the throne at Pataliputra in 321 B. C., set up the Mauryan Dynasty which held sway over Northern India for more than three centuries. Hailing from Kerala, in South India, he had distinguished himself as a scholar at the University of Taxila (Takshashila). After the establishment of the Mauryan Dynasty, he served Chandragupta as Prime Minister and excelled as a Statesman and the greatest exponent of the art of government and the science of diplomacy. The play *Mudrarakshasa* (c. 860 A.D.) was a dramatization, by the classical Sanskrit play wrighter Vishakadatta, of the political exploits of Chanakya.

The *Arthasastra,* composed almost 200 years before Machiavelli's *the Prince* (1513), is the *opus magnum* of Chanakya, in which he crystallized his life's experience and capsuled his shrewd observations on the political, economic, and social life of his time. Chanakya defines "*artha*" as the "subsistence of mankind, or wealth", and that science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining "*artha*" as "*Arthasastra*" or the Science of Polity. (cf. BK. XV. ch.1), It was only in 1904 that the *Arthasastra* was brought to the light of the modern world, when Dr. Shama Sastry discovered it in Mysore.

Maintaining on the one hand that the end of all sciences is to explain the operation of the social forces, and to discipline and enlighten the rulers and administrators who have to contend with suchforces so as to enable them to carry out the functions of government under a proper system of Danda (punishments) Chanakya also believes that the course of the progress of the world depends precisely on the science of polity (Bk I, Ch IV) Chanakya discusses the important aspects of the art of government in 150 chapters, arranged in 15 books

I Concerning Discipline and the End of Sciences ,
II The Duties of Government ,
III Concerning Law ,
IV The Removal of "Thorns"
V *The conduct of Coustiers* ,
VI The Source of Sovereign States ,
VII The Ends of Sixfold Policy ,
VIII Concerning Vices and Calamities ,
IX The Work of the Invader ,
X The Act of War ,
XI The Conduct of Corporations ,
XII Concerning a Powerful Enemy ,
XIII Strategic means ,
XIV Secret Means ,
XV The Plan of the Treatise

The selections included here are from Book IV, dealing with the sources of Sovereign states, and Book VII, dealing with the Ends of the Sixfold Policy

THE ELEMENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY*

The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasur the army and the friend, and the enemy are the elements sovereignty

Of these the best qualities of the king are

Born of a high family, godly, possessed of valour, seei through the medium of aged persons, virtuous, truthful, not a contradictory nature, grateful having large aims, high enthusiastic, not addicted to procrastination, powerful to contr his neighbouring kings, of resolute mind, having an assembly ministers of no mean quality, and possessed of a taste for disc pline—these are the qualities of an inviting nature

Inquiry, hearing, perception, retention in memory, reflectio deliberation, inference and steadfast adherence to conclusions a the qualities of intellect

Valour, determination of purpose, quickness, and probity a the aspects of enthusiasm

Possessed of sharpintellect, strong memory, and keen min energetic, powerful, trained In all kinds of arts, free from vic capable of paying in the same coin by way of awarding punisl ments or rewards, possessed of dignity, capable of takin remedial measures against dangers, possessed of foresight, reac to avail himself of opportunities when afforded in respect place, time, and manly efforts, clever enough to discern th

* From John B Alphoso-Karkala (ed) *An Anthology of Indian Li ture* (Penguin Books 1971), PP 348-358

causes necessitating the cessation of treaty or war with an enemy, or to lie in wait keeping treaties, obligations and pledges, or to avail himself of his enemy's weak points, making jokes with no loss of dignity or secrecy, never browbeating, casting haughty and stern looks, free from passion, anger, greed, obstinacy, fickleness, haste and back-biting habits, talking to others with a smiling face, and observing customs as taught by aged person—such is the nature of self-possession.

The qulifications of a minister have been described in the beginning, middle, and at the close of the work.

Possessed of capital cities both in the centres and the extremities of the kingdom, productive of subsistence not only to its own people, but also to outsiders on occasions of calamities repulsive to enemies, powerful enough to put down neighbouring kings, free from miry, rocky, uneven, and desert tracts, as well as from conspirators, tigers, wild beasts, and large tracts of wilderness, beautiful to look at, containing fertile lands, mines, timber and elephant forests, and pasture grounds, artistic, containing hidden passages, full of cattle, not depending upon rain for water, possessed of land and waterways, rich in various kinds of commercial articles, capable of bearing the burden of a vast army and heavy taxation, inhabited by agriculturists of good and active character, full of intelligent masters and servants, and with a population noted for its loyality and good character-these are the qualities of a good country.

The excellent qualities of forts have been already described.

Justly obtained either by inheritance or by self-acquisition, rich in gold and silver, filled with an abundance of big gems of various colours and of gold coins, and capable to withstand calamities of long duration, is the best treasury.

Coming down directly from father and grandfather (of the king), ever strong, obedient, happy in keeping their sons and wives well contented, not averse to making a long sojourn, ever and everywhere invincible, endowed with the power of endurance, trained in fighting various kinds of battles, skilful in handling various forms of weapons, ready to share in the weal or woe of

the king and consequently not falling foul with him, and purely composed of soldiers of Kashatriya caste is the best army

Coming down directly from father and grandfather long standing open to conviction never falling foul and capable of making preparations for war quickly and on a large scale is the best friend

Not born of a royal family greedy, possessed of a mean assembly of ministers with disloyal subjects ever doing unrighteous acts of loose character addicted to mean pleasures devoid of enthusiasm trusting to fate indiscreet in action powerless helpless impotent and ever injurious is the worst enemy Such an ememy is easily uprooted

Excepting the enemy these seven elements possessed of their excellent characteristics are said to be the limb like elements of sovereignty

A wise king can make even the poor and miserble elements of his sovereignty happy and prosperous but a wicked king will surely destroy the most prosperous and loyal elements of his kingdom

Hence a king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will though he is an emperor fall a prey either to the fury of *his own subjects or to that of his enemies*

But a wise king trained in politics will though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best fitted elements of his sovereignty and will never be defeated

CHAPTER II

Concerning Peace and Exertion

Acquisition and security (of property) are dependent upon peace and industry

Effort to achieve the results of works undertaken is industry (vyayama)

Absence of disturbance to the enjoyment of the results ved from works is peace

The application of the sixfold royal policy is the source of peace and industry.

Deterioration, stagnation, and progress are the three aspects of position.

Those causes of human make which affect position are policy and impolicy (naya and apanaya) ; fortune and misfortune (aya and anaya) are providential causes. Causes both human and providential, govern the world and its affairs.

What is the unforeseen is providential ; here, the attainment of that desired end which seemed almost lost is (termed) fortune.

What is anticipated is human : and the attainment of a desired end as anticipated is (due to policy).

What produces unfavourable results is impolicy. This can be foreseen ; but misfortune due to providence cannot be known.

The king who, being possessed of good character and best-fitted elements of sovereignty, is the fountain of policy, is termed the conqueror.

The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy.

The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy. but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror).

A neighbouring foe of considerable power is styled an enemy ; and when he is involved in calamities or has taken himself to evil ways, he becomes assailable ; and when he has little or no help, he becomes destructible : otherwise (i.e. when he is provided with some help), he deserves to be harassed or reduced. Such are the aspects of an enemy.

In front of the conqueror and close to his enemy, there happen to be situated kings as the conqueror's friend, next to him the enemy's friend, and next to the last, the conqueror's friend's friend, and next, the enemy's friend's friend.

In the year of the conqueror, there happen to be situated a rearward enemy (parshnigraha), a rearward friend (akranda), an

ally of the rearward enemy (parshnigrahasara), and an ally of the rearward friend (akrandasara).

The foe who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to that of the conqueror is a natural enemy, while he who is merely antagonistic and creates enemies to the conqueror is a fictitious enemy.

He whose friendship is derived from father and garandfather, and who is situated close to the territory of the immediate enemy of the conquror is a natural friend, while he whose friendship is courted for self-maintenace is an acquired friend

The king who occupies a territory close to both the conqueror and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both the kings whether united or disunited, or of resisting either of them individually is termed a Madhyama (mediatory) king.

He who is situated beyond the territory of any of the above kings, and who is very powerful and capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror, and the Madhyama king, together or individually, or of resisting any of them individually, is a neutral king (udasina)—these are the (twelve) primary kings

The conqueror, his friend, and his friend's friend are the three primary kings constituting a circle of states As each of these three kings possesses the five elements of sovereignty, such as the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, and the army, a circle of states consists of eighteen elements Thus, it needs no commentary to understand that the (three) Circles of States having the enemy (of the conqueror), the Madhyama king, or the neutral king at the centre of each of the three circles are different from that of the conqueror Thus there are four primary circles of States, twelve kings, sixty elements of sovereignty-two elements of states*.

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* (1) The conqueror's circle of states ; (2) the enemy's circle of states (3) the Madhyama king s circle of states As each of the twelve primary kings has five elements of sovereigty, the total number elements is sixty These sixty elements with the twelve amount to seventy-two elements

The application of the sixfold royal policy is the source of peace and industry.

Deterioration, stagnation, and progress are the three aspects of position.

Those causes of human make which affect position are policy and impolicy (naya and apanaya) ; fortune and misfortune (aya and anaya) are providential causes. Causes both human and providential, govern the world and its affairs.

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In front of the conqueror and close to his enemy, there happen to be situated kings as the conqueror's friend, next to him the enemy's friend, and next to the last, the conqueror's friend's friend, and next, the enemy's friend's friend.

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The king who occupies a territory close to both the conqueror and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both the kings whether united or disunited or of resisting either of them individually is termed a *Madhyama (mediatory)* king

He who is situated beyond the territory *of any of the above* kings and who is very powerful and *capable of helping the* enemy the conqueror and the *Madhyama king together or* individually, or of resisting any *of them individually is a* neutral king (udasina)—these are *the (twelve) primary kings*

The conqueror *his friend and his friend's friend are the* three primary kings constituting a *circle of states As each of* these three kings possesses *the five elements of sovereignty such* as the minister, *the country the fort the treasury, and the* army a circle of states *consists of eighteen elements Thus it* needs no *commentary to understand that the (three) Circles of* States having *the enemy (of the conqueror) the Madhyama* king or the *neutral king at the centre of each of the three circles* are different *from that of the conqueror Thus there are four primary circles of States twelve kings, sixty elements of sovereignty two elements of states**

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Of those, a wise king shall observe that form of policy which, in his opinion, enables him to build forts, to construct buildings and commercial roads, to open new plantations and villages, to exploit mines and timber and elephant forests and at the same time to harass similar works of his enemy.

Whoever thinks himself to be growing in power more rapidly both in quality and quantity (than his enemy), and the reverse of his enemy, may neglect his enemy's progress for the time.

If any two kings, hostile to each other, find the time of achieving the results of their respetive works to be equal, they shall make peace with each other.

No king shall keep that form of policy, which causes him the loss of profit from his own works, but which entails no such loss on the enemy ; for it is deterioration.

Whoever thinks that in the course of time his loss will be less than his acquisition as contrasted with that of his enemy, may neglect his temporary deterioration.

If any two kings, hostile to each other, and deteriorating, expect to acquire equal amount of wealth in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

That position in which neither progress nor retrogression is seen is stagnation.

Whoever thinks his stagnancy to be of a shorter duration and his prosperity in the long run to be greater than his enemy's, may neglect his temporary stagnation.

My teacher says that if any two kings, who are hostile to each other, and are in a stationary condition, expect to acquire equal amount of wealth and power in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

'Of course,' says Kautilya, 'there is no other alternative.' Or if a king thinks :

'That keeping the agreement of peace, I can under-take productive works of considerable importance and destroy at the same time those of my enemy ; or apart from enjoying the results of my own works, I shall also enjoy those of my enemy in virtue of the agreement of peace ; or I can destroy the works

of my enemy by employing spies and other secret means, or by holding out such inducements as a happy dwelling, rewards, remission of taxes, little work and large profits and wages, I can empty my enemy's country of its population, with which he has been able to carry his own works, or being allied with a king of considerable power, my enemy will have his own work destroyed, or I can prolong my enemy's hostility with another king whose threats have driven my enemy to seek my Protection, or being allied with me, my enemy can harass the country of another king who hates me, or *oppressed by another king*, the subjects of my enemy will immigrate into my country, and I can therefore, achieve the results of my own works very easily, or being in a precarious condition due to the destruction of his works, my enemy will not be so powerful as to attack me, or by exploiting my own resources in alliance with any two (friendly) kings, I can augment my resources, of if a Circle of States is formed by my enemy as one of its members, I can divide them and combine with the others, or by threats or favour I can catch hold of my enemy, and when he desires to be a member of my own Circle of States I can make him incur the displeasures of the other members and fall a victim to their own fury'—if a king thinks thus, then he may increase his resources by keeping peace

Or if a king thinks

'That as my country is full of born soldiers and of corporations of fighting men, and as it possesses such natural defensive positions as mountains, forests, rivers, and forts with only one entrance, it can easily repel the attack of my enemy, or having taken my stand in my impregnable fortress at the border of my country, I can harass the works of my enemy, or owing to internal troubles and loss of energy, my enemy will early suffer from the destruction of his works, or when my enemy is *attacked by another king I can induce* his subjects to immigrate into my country', then he may augment his own resources by keeping open hostility with such an enemy

Or if a king thinks

'That neither is my enemy strong enough to destory my works nor am I his, or if he comes to fight with m ke a dog

with a boar, I can increase his afflictions without incurring any loss in my own works,' then he may observe neutrality and augment his own resources.

Or if a king thinks :

'That by marching my troops it is possible to destroy the works of my enemy ; and as for myself, I have made proper arrangements to safeguard my own works.' then he may increase his resources by marching.

Or if a king thinks :

'That I am strong enough neither to harass my enemy's works nor to defend my own against my enemy's attack,' then he shall seek protection from a king of superior power, and endeavour to pass from the stage of deterioration to that of stagnancy and from the latter to that of progress.

Or if a king thinks ;

'That by making peace with one, I can work out my own resources, and by waging war with another, I can destroy the works of my enemy,' then he may adopt that double policy and improve his resources.

Thus, a king in the circle of sovereign states shall, by adopting the sixfold policy, endeavour to pass from the state of deterioration to that of stagnation, and from the latter to that of progress.

CHAPTER II

The Nature of Alliance

When the advantages derivable from peace and war are of equal character, one should prefer peace ; for dis-advantages, such as the loss of power and wealth, sojourning, and sin, are ever attending upon war.

The same holds good in the case of neutrality and war.

Of the two (forms of policy), double policy and alliance, double policy (i.e. making peace with one and waging war with another) is preferable ; for whoever adopts the double policy enriches himself, being ever attentive to his own works, whereas an allied king has to help his ally at his own expense.

One shall make an alliance with a king who is stronger than one's neighbouring enemy, in the absence of such a king one should inagurate oneself with one's neighbouring enemy, either by supplying money or army or by ceding a part of one's territory and by keeping oneself aloof, for there can be no greater evil to kings than alliance with a king of considerable power, unless one is acutally attacked by one's enemy.

A powerless king should behave as a conquered king (towards his immediate enemy), but when he finds that the time of his own ascendancy is at head, due to a fatal disease, internal troubles, increase of enemies or a friend's calamities that are vexing his enemy, then under the pretence of performing some expiatory rites to avert the danger of his enemy, he may get out (of the enemy's court), or if he is in his own territory, he should not go to see his suffering enemy, or if he is near to his enemy he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself

A king who is situated between two powerful kings shall seek protection from the stronger of the two, or from one of them on whom he can rely, or he may make peace with both of them on equal terms Then he may begin to set one of them against the other by telling each that the other is tyrant causing utter ruin to himself, and thus cause dissension between them When they are divided, he may put down each separately by secret or covert means. Or, throwing himself under the protection of any two immediate kings of considerable power, he may defend himself against an immediate enemy. Or, having made an alliance with a chief in a stronghold, he may adopt the double policy (i e make peace with one of the two kings and wage war with another) Or, he may adapt himself to circumstances, depending upon the causes of peace and war in order Or, he may make friendship with traitors, enemies, and wild chiefs who are conspiring against both the kings Or, pretending to be a close friend of one of them, he may strike the other at the latter's weak point by employing enemies and wild tribes Or, having made friendship with both, he may form a Circle of States Or, he may make an alliance with the Madhayama or the neutral king, and with this help he may • ore of

them or both. Or when hurt by both, he may seek protection from a king, and their friends or equals, or from any other king whose subjects are so disposed as to increase his happiness and peace, with help he may be able to recover his last position, with whom his ancestors were in close intimacy or blood relationship and in whose kingdom he can find a number of powerful friends.

Of two powerful kings who are on amicable terms with each other, a king shall make alliance with one of them who likes him and whom he likes ; this is the best way of making alliance.

7

THIRU VALLUVAR

In the terse and vivid couplets of the *Thirukural* are enshrined the moral wisdom and the practical philosophy of Thiruval luvar (c 100 B C) the venerable sage of Tamilnadu Dealing mainly with the conduct and character of people as private and public persons, in various orders of the society of the time, the *Thirukural* relates to householders ascetics Princes, councillors, ambassadors state officials, subjects and lovers Consisting of 133 chapters of ten couplets each the *Thirukural* is arrenged in three parts with an Introduction (chsl-4) The three parts are I) *Aram* or Righteousness (chs 5 3) , II *Porul* or Wealth (chs 39 108) , and III *Inbam* or love (chs 109 133) And these three divisions easily allow for a rough comparison with the Sanskrit *Purushartha* or "Aim of Man" viz *Dharma Artha,* and *Kama* (In tamil, *Thiru* means desirable, sacred, holy etc)

In the first part of the *Kural,* viz *Aram* Valluvar speaks of men in relation to his Family According to valluvar, the chiefest blessing is an honourable home made by a woman who worships not the gods but her husband, and the crowning glory of the home is its worthy offspring Placing as much emphasis on political and social life and its organization Valluver devotes seve n hundred couplets to discuss *Porul* or wealth of all kinds

In his opinion *Porul* cannat be pursued enjoyed, or main tained with justice except under a stable, well ordered, and benevolent goverment Thus he holds that in a country where people starve, there is something wrong with the government,

and so, a bad government, being worse than an assasin, should be replaced by a good government. In the last part, entitled *Inbam* or Love, Valluvar speaks of love between a couple before and after marriage, and of their separation and reunion. He distinguishes between *Kalavu* and *Karp* : Whereas *Kalavu* is a spontaneous union of man and woman, which is a prelude to a binding union, *Karpu* is married love, portraying the joys of love between husband and wife, the pangs of separation, and the bliss of re-union.

The selections included here on the Prince, Government, and counsellor are from the second section, viz. *Porul.*

PRINCE, GOVERNMENT, COUNCILLOR*

The Prince

318 He is a lion among princes who is well endowed in respect of the six things, to wit, troops, population, substance, council, alliances and fortifications

382 Four qualities should never be wanting in the prince namely, courage, liberality, sagacity and energy

GOVERNMENT

542 The world looks up to the rain-cloud for life , even so do men look up to the sceptre of the prince for protection

549 Behold the prince that guards his subjects from enemies both within and without , if he punish them when they go wrong it is not a blemish it is his duty

551 Behold the prince who oppress his subjects and does iniquity , he is worse than an assassin

578 Behold the man who can be considerate towards others without derogating from any of his duties , he will inherit the earth

581 Let the prince understand that Political Science and his Intelligence Corps are the eyes wherewith he sees

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* Form John B Alphonso Karkala (ed) An Anthology of Indian Literature (Penguin Books (1971)

COUNCILLOR

631. Behold the man who can judge aright the ways and means of achieving great enterprises and the proper season to commence them ; he is the proper man for the Council.

632. Study, resolution, manly exertion, and loving attention to the welfare of the people, these make, along with the last (631), the five qualifications of the councillor.

671. The end of all deliberation is to arrive at a decision ; and when a decision is come to, it is wrong to delay the execution thereof.

678. Men decoy one elephant by means of another ; even so make on enterprise the means of achieving a second.

687. He is the fittest ambassador who has a just eye for time and place, who knows his duty, and who weighs his words before uttering them.

740. Even if a country has all the blessings it is worth nothing if it is not blessed in its ruler.

8

"ON GOVERNMENT AND LAW"*

(Sukra)

> Teeth nails, hair and kings do not look
> well when taken out of their proper siutations
>
> Sukra

Introduction by Mackenzie Brown

In the three worlds there is no other policy like that of the post Sukra His works are the sole guide for politicians—others are worthless '[1] Thus proclaims the *Sukraniti*, the most important creatin of medieval Hindu political theory[2] This *nitisastra* or "treatise on public policy" also claims to be the one master science which transcends and embrances all others as a key to the functioning of society and the state[3] By its use, rulers conquer their enemies and please their subjets

The mythical author of *Sukraniti* is referred to in Indian literature as one of the great ancient sages who along with Manu Vyasa and others wrote works on political sciene He is known as Usanas or Sukra the regent of the planet Venus and priest of the Asuras or demons[4] It would seem however, that the present *Sukraniti* is the product of a late medieval writer who used the name of Sukra to lend authority to his own treatise Despite the presumed existence of an early classic

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* From Mackenze Brown *the white umbrella Indian Political thought* ... (Bombay 1970)

work credited to Sukra and mentioned by both Kamandaka and Vyasa, it is most improbable that the *Sukraniti* we know is this same ancient treatise.[5]

We find the following description of a firearm in the *Sukraniti* : "A cylindrical instrument..... which has fire produced by the pressure of a mechanism, contains stone and powder at the origin, has a good wooden handle at the but, has an inside hole the breadth of the middle finger, holds gunpowder in the interior and has a strong rod."[6] Since modern scholars deny the evistence of guns or gunpowder in ancient India, the *Sukraniti* is considered to be of comparatively recent date.[7] Prasad concludes that it was composed about the thirteenth century but that the present version contains materials at late as the sixteenth or seventeenth century.[8]

Although the *Sukraniti* is distinguished from other late work, by its originality in certain minor fields, it represents primarily "the last summing up of Hindu political thought .....brrowing freely .....from the *Mahabharta*, Manu, and even Kamandaka, and thus indrectly from Kautilya."[9] It stands, therefore, in the historic Hindu political tradition, despite its creation in a period when much of India had fallen under foreign rule,=and it shows indeed little or no influence of the Moslem conquerors.[10]

THE SUKRANITI

On Government

Other Shastras treat of certain specialized department of human activity and hence can be useful only in limited cases, whereas *nitisastra* is useful to all and in all cases and is the means for the preservation of human society."[11] As *nitisasta* is considered to be the spring of virtue, wealth, enjoyment, and salvation, the ruler should ever carefully peruse it. Without *niti*, or the system of political science, the stability of no man's affairs can be maintained-just as without food the physical body of men cannot be maintained and preserved. *nitisastra* conduces to the desires and initerests of all and hence is respected and followed by all. It is also indispensable to the prince, since

he is the lord of all men and things Just as in the case of sick persons who take unprescribed food, the diseases comes immediately and do not delay in manifesting them selves so also in the case of the princes who are unschooled in the principles of *niti-sastra*, the enemies make their appearance at once and do not delay in declaring themselves

The two primary functions of the king are protection of subjeuts and constant punishment of offenders , these two cannot be achieved without *nitisastra* The absence of *nitisastra* always dangerous to a king like a vessel which leaks It multiplies and satisfies enemies and causes the diminvtion of strength and efficiency The man who by severing obedience to *niti* becomes independent and follows his own inclinations without reference to it has misery for his lot Service to a lord in an independent way, without following *niti*, is like licking the keen edge of the sword The king who follow it is not honoured Where there are both *niti* and power there flourishes all round prosperity

Through fear of the punishment meted out by the king, each man gets into the habit of following his own Dharma or dutv The person who practices his own duty and sticks to it can be come powerful and influential in this world Without strict adherence to one's own duty is the paramount penance Even the gods minister to the wants of him by whom this practice of one's own duty is increased among men What to say of human beings ? The king should make the subjects acquire the habits of performing their duties by the use of his terrible scepter And he himself should practice his own religion, or his influence will be on the wane

Not by birth are the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra, and Mlechchha separated, but by virtues and works [15] Are all descented from Brahma to be called Brahman ? Neither through color nor through ancestors can the spirit, worthy of a Brahman be generated The Brahman is so called becase of his virtue-he is habitually a worshipper of the gods with knowledge, practices and prayers and he is peaceful, restrained, 4 nd

The man who can protect men, who is valorous, restrained, and powerful, and who is the punisher of the wicked is called Kashatriya. Those who are experts in sales and purchases, who ever live by commerce, who are tenders of cattle, and who cultivate lands are called Vaisyas in this world. Those men of the lower order who are servants and followers of the twice-born who are bold, peaceful and have mastered their senses, and who are drivers of the plough, drawers of wood and grass are called Sudras. Those who have descerted practising their own duties, who are unkind and troblesome to others, and who are very excitable, envios, and foolish are Mlechchhas.[13]

The kingdom is an organism of seven limbs—the Sovereign, the Minister, the Friend, the Treasurer, the State, the Fort, and the Army. Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the king or Sovereign is the head, the Minister is the eye, the Friend is the ear, the Treasurer is the mouth, the Army is the mind, the Fort is the arms, and the State is the legs.[14]

Discipline is the chief thing to the king. This comes through the dictates or precept of Shastras. This gives mastery over the senses,and one who has mastered the senses acquires the Shastras. The king should first provide discipline to himself, the to his sons, then to ministers, then to servants, then to the subjects. He should never display his ability in only advising others.

One should bring to pay or discipline, by the hook of knowledge, the elephant of the senses which is running to and fro in a destructive manner in the vast forest of enjoyable things, sends forth the senses. So one should carefully check the mind, for when the mind is controlled, the senses are conquered. How can the man who is unable to subdue one's mind master the world extending to the sea? The king whose heart is agitated by enjoyable things gets into a trap like elephant. Sound, touch, sight, taste, and smell each of these five alone is sufficint to cause destruction. The deer which is innocent feeds upon grass and blades, and can roam far and wide, seeks death-attacted by the music of the tempter. The elephant whose stature is like the peak of a mountain, and who can uproot trees with ease, is however caught because of the pleasure of con-

tact with the female The moth gets death by faling suddenly into the lamp because of its mad passion through gratification of its eyes by the light of the wick The fish, though it dives into unfathomed depths and lives in distant abodes, tastes the baited hook and dies The bee which has the power of cutting holes, and can fly with wings, gets, however, caught within a lotus becauss of its desire for smell These poisonlike *visyas* are each capable or ruining men Cannot the five combined causs to desteruction ?[15]

Indulgence in gambling, women, and drinking when undue produces many disasters , but when within due limits, gives rise to wealth, sons, and intelligence Nalay Yudhisthra, and other kings were rained through honest gambling with dishonesty is productive of much wealth to those who know it [16] Even the name of females is captivating and agitates the mind What to speak of the effect of the sight of those whose brows are luxuriously decorated ? Whom does not a woman subdue, who is skilled in the art of secret conversation who talks soft and sweet, and whose eyes are bright ? Of the man who drinks wine excessively, intelligence disappears Wine drunk according to some measure, increases the talent, clears the intelligence, augments patience, and makes the mind steadfast , but otherwise it is ruinous Senuousness and anger are like wine and should be dully used the former in the maintenace of the family, the latter against enemies

The most miserable king is he whom the subjects look upon with terror and disrespect and who is deserted by both rich and virtuous men The king who is much attached to actors, *musicians, prostitutes, athlets, oxen and lower castes deserves* ignominy and is exposed to enemies The king who is inimical to the intelligent, who is pleased with cheats and does not understand his own fault, creates his own destruction When the king does not pardon offenses, but is great punisher, is the robber of men's wealth, and oppresses the subjects on hearing of his own faults the society gets disturbed and disorganized By making his secret spies compile information as to who are accusing his conduct, in what light ministers « others are viewing it the extent of satisfaction and

owing to his virtues and vices-hearing everything in secret. the king deserving praise should always know his own faults and correct them, but never persecute the people.

On Law

The following laws are always to be promulgated by the king among his subjects : Toward slaves and servants, toward wife and children or toward the disciple no one obeying the, royal command should be harsh and cruel in words. Dishonesty must not be practiced by anyone with regard to the system and standard of weights and measurements. currency extracts, some kinds of metals, ghee, honey, milk, fat, oil, ground substances, and other things[17]. Nor must writing or statements be forget, bribes be accepted, or the interests of the master consciously damaged. One should never give protection to men of wicked activities, thieves, bad charcters, malicious and offensive persons, as well as other wrongdoers, Insult and jokes should never be dealt out toward parents and other respectable seniors, as well as toward men of learning and virtuous character. Discord must never be created between husband and wife, master and servant, brother, and brother, preceptor and pupil, as well as between father and sons. One must never obstruct the tanks, wells, parks, or boundaries, or place hindrances to the use of religious houses, temples, and roads, nor must anyone interfere with the movements of the poor, the blind, and the deformed.

Without the permission of the king the following things are not to be done by the subjects : gambling, drinking, hunting, use of arms, sales and purchases of cows, elephants, horses, camels, buffaloes, men, immovable property, silver, gold, jewels, intoxicants and poisons, distillation of wines, the drawing up of deeds indicating a sale, gift, or loan medical practice. Nor should one ever do the following things : serious cursing, acceptance of pledges, promulgation of new social rules, defamation of castes, receipt of unowned and lost goods, disclosure of state secrets and discussion about the king's demerits. So also one must never even in mind commit the following actions : forsaking one's own religion, untruth, adultery, perjury, forgery, secret acceptance of gifts, realization of more than the fixed

revenue, thieving, violence, and enterprise against the master. One should never commit violence or aggression on anybody in the matter of remuneration, duties, or revenues by increasing them through sleight or strength. All measurements have been definitely fixed and ascertained by the king. All the subjects should try to be qualified in the performance of meritorious actions. When a violence has been committed the aggressor must be caught and handed over to the state.

For fear of poisons the king should examine his food through moneys and cooks. At the very sight of poisoned food ovulses, limp, bees hum peacocks dance cocks cry, cranes get intoxicated, monkey pass stools, rats become excited, birds vomit. Thus the food is to be tested. He should take meals, having six not simply two or three, testes, not testeless, nor overtasteful, not pungent, not excessively sweet or acid [18]

He should hear with the ministers the petitions and appeals of the people. In parks and places of entertainment he should carefully indulge in enjoyments with the people, women, actors, musicians, poets, and magicians. He should every morning and evening exercise himself with elephants, horses, chariots, and other conveyances. And he should learn as well as teach the military arrangements soldier. He should sport with tigers, peacocks, birds, and other animals of the forest and in the course of the hunting should kill the wild ones. The advantages of hunting are the growth of ability to strike the aim, fearlessness, and agility in the use of arms and weapons, but cruelty is the great defect. He should every night hear from the secret spies and informs the opinions, sentiments, and demonstrations of the subjects and officer, the departments of administration, enemies, solders, members, relatives, and the females of the inner apartments.

There should ever be only one leader in a state, never many. And the king should never try to leave any situation without a leader. If in the king's family there be many males, the eldest among them is to become king! the others are to be his assistants and auxiliaries. More than all other assistants, these members of the aristocracy help forward the interests of the

state. If the eldest, however, is deaf, leprous, dumb, blind, or a eunuch he will not be eligible for the throne; the king's brother, or the eldest son's son will be eligible. And the eldest son's junior, i.e. the king's second son or the son of the king's brother will get the throne. In the absence of seniors the juniors are heirs to the throne. Unity of opinion among the theirs is good for the king. Differences among them are dangerous to both the state and the family. Hence the king should arrange for these heirs the same kind of comforts and enjoyments as for himself, and should be careful to satisfy them with umbrellas and thrones.[19]

By the partition of kingdoms there can arise no good Rather, the kingdom divided into parts is exposed to the enemies. He should station the heirs in various quarters by paying them one-fourth of the royal revenues or make them governors of provinces. He may appoint them as the heads of cows, elephants, horses, camels, treasure etc., The mother and the lady who is of the same rank as the mother should be appointed in charge of the kitchen. Cognate kinsmen and brothers-in-law are to be ever appointed in the military department. Those who are superiors and friends are to be made critics of one's own faults. The females are to be appointed in the overseeing of clothes, ornaments, and vessels. But he himself must reflect upon and seal all in succession.

The king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country.

The king should engage near him the services of the soldiers who are to precede and follow him, gaudily dressed, adept in the rules of etiquette and morality and supplied with useful missiles and naked weapons.[20] The king should tour the city on the back of elephants in order to please the people. Does not even the dog look like a king when it has ascended a royal conveyance ?

The king must personally inspect every year the cities and districts and provinces and must know which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers, and

deliberate upon the matters brought forward by the people. He should take the side not of his officers but of the subjects[31] He should dismiss privately and punish the minister when he is found to have gone astray more than once and dismiss him who by nature commits offenses

Of the rulers who do not act according to *niti* the king should take away both the kingdom as well as all property Courts should always be established in the territories of conquerered rulers, and he should give them pensions according to their character He should not leave his own position but conquer his enemies through *niti* Teeth nails hair, and kings do not look well taken out of their proper situations

Notes and References

1 *Sukraniti* IV 7 855 856 Sarkar, *Sukraniti*, p 260

2 See Prasad, *State in Ancient India* p 486

3 See Sarkar *Sukraniti* p 2 Ghoshal, Hindu Political Theories p 80 Ghoshal ranks it with Makandaka as one of the two most popular textbooks on polittical science in all Hindu literature

4 See *Mahabharata*, *Santiparvan* CCXC 32 Roy *Mahabharata* V, 8 See also Buhler, *Sacred Laws*, I, xiv , Oppert *Political Maxims of the Anciant Hindus* Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, I, 116

5 Keith, *Sanskrit Literature* p 464 Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p 209 Kamandaka wrote after Kautilya and drew heavily upon the latter's work

6 *Sukraniti* IV 7 389 394 Sarkar, *Sukraniti* p 236 See also Oppert's translation in *Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, pp 106 108. He argues that ancient India was the original home of gunpowder and firearms (pp 58-82)

7 Sarkar, however, suggests that the references to guns and gunpowder are later interpolations on an earlier text *Sukraniti* p 236 For Sarkar's detailed analysis of the problem of Sukra chronology, see his *Hindu Sociology*,

BK. II, pp. 63-71. See also Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, op. 10-11.

8. *State in Ancient India*, p. 416.

9. Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 245.

10. Selection from the following passages of the *Sukraniti* have been used in this volume : Parts of chap. i. comprising pp. 1-53 in Sarkar's translation.

11. N is the sceince of public policy or what today we would term political science in the broader sense. This and the following paragraph stress the supreme value of this discipline to the ruler.

12. The preceeding analysis of the caste system reveals the liberal nature of Sukra's thought. The important point here is that persons are given caste or class status in terms of their actual work and individual character and ability, rather than by birth. In a basis sense, however, this is not inconsistent with traditional Hindu principles, for we find a similar viewpoint in *Manu* (XII. 114) : "Even if thousands of Brahmans who......are unacquainted with the Veda......meet, they cannot form a (judicial) assembly." Buhler, *Manu*, pp. 510-511.

13. The *Mlechchhas* are the outcasts or barbarians.

14. Cf. *Manu's* four *sthana* (chap. iii. n. 17).

15. The *visayas* are sense desires which, according to Sukra, turn to poison when fulfilled. This paragraph is a vivid expression of a thesis common to Hindu Shastras. Cf. Plato : "Which is in the truest sense inferior, the man who is overcome by pleasure or by pain ?

16. King Nala is featured in one of the episodes of the *Mahabharata*. He staked all his possessions, including his clothes on the dice-and lost. Yudhisthira was the eldest of the five brothers of the *Mahabharata*. He too lost everything on the dice-his kingdom, wife, and brothers.

17. These subjects—and those at the end of this paragraph and the beginning of the next—suggest the normal field of

activity of the Hindu state. They will be recognized as typical items of administration in most states.

18 These dietary precepts are traditional in Hindu medicine. Although based on different premises, they may be compared to modern regulations governing a "balanced diet" We find in these and the following passages an amusing jumble of advice to the ruler ranging from personal hygiene to high-level statesmanship. But it must be remembered that, to the Hindu theorist, personal fitness and morality were inseparable from successful administration

19 That is, with the White Umbrellas of sovereignty.

20 In other words, the royal bodyguard.

21 We have seen in the preceding passages a repeated insistence on personal morality for the head of the state Here we have the second safeguard against the abuse of the ruling power, namely, respect for public opinion.

SOME DOCUMENTATIONS

9

ASOKA

The Edicts of Asoka, carved more than two thousand years ago on stone pillars and rock faces throughout Asoka's vast *empire, are an outstanding instance of the interaction of power* with other values in practical action Being the proclamations of a man who had acquired enormous power but who had undergone a change of heart they in a way illustrate the universality of transformation of power by cultural, social, and moral values

Asoka (C 274 232 B C) was an emperor and Conqueror who was afflicted by repentance after the short but bloody Kalinga War After his conversion to an apostle of peace and humanitarianism, he revealed himself a philosopher in the consequences he draws from his repentance , a political philosopher who expressed himself in proclamations and laws bounding his country with rock Edicts to publish his ideals and aims to his neighbours and subjects along the frontiers A moral philosopher who found a substitute for conquests by arms in conquest by *Dharma*, Asoka found a novel way to express his moral and social objectives by erecting pillar edicts in important places of his vast empire The selection included here is from such Edicts first discovered by Father Tieffenthaler, a Roman Catholic Priest who inspected fragments of the Meerut Pillar at Delhi in 1756 and first deciphered by James Prinsep in 1837

"THE PROMULGATION OF MORALITY AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE"*

(ASOKA)

Rock Edict III

King Priyadarsi Says :

Twelve years after my coronation I ordered the following :

Everywhere in my dominions local, provincial, and state officials shall make a tour of their districts every five years to proclaim the following precepts of Dharma as well as to transact other busines :

Obedience to mother and father ; liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, priests, and ascetics ; abstention from killing living creatures ; and moderation in spending money and acquiring possessions are all meritorious.

The Council shall direct local officials concerning the execution of these orders in accordance with my instruction and my intention.

Rock Edict V (Continned from IV.2)

In the past there were no officers charged with spreading Dharma. I created these posts in the thirteenth year of my reign.

These officers are commissioned to work with all sects in establishing and promoting Dharma, in seeing to the welfare

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* From *The Edicts of Asoka,* Edited and translated by N. A. Nikam & Richared McKeon, Asia Publishing House, (Bombay : 1962), pp.55-59.

and happiness of all those devoted to Dharma, among the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandharás, Rastrikas Pitinikas, and other peoples living on the western borders of my kingdom They are commissioned to work among the soldiers and their chiefs the ascetics and householders, the poor and the aged to secure the welfare and happiness and release from imprisonment of those devoted to Dharma They are also commissioned to work among prisoners to distribute money to those who have many children, to secure the release of those who were instigated to crime by others and to pardon those who are very aged

They have been assigned everywhere here (at Pataliputra), in all the provincial towns, and in the harems of my brothers and sisters and other relatives These officers in charge of spreading Dharma are at work everywhere in my dominions among people devoted to Dharma, whether they are only inclined to Dharma or established in Dharma or duly devoted to charity

I have commanded this edict on Dharma to be inscribed so that it may last forever and so that my descendants may conform to it

Pillar Edict IV

King Priyadarsi Says

I ordered this edict on Dharma inscribed [illegible] after my coronation

I have appointed provincial governors [illegible] administrators over hundreds of thousands [illegible]

In order that they may be fearless [illegible] administering the welfare and happiness of [illegible] and in bestowing favours among them [illegible] tion of these governors the award [illegible] punishments

They shall learn the [illegible] misery, and they shall [illegible] with the help of those [illegible] that will gain them happiness [illegible]

The provincial [illegible] They shall also [illegible]

are acquainted with my wishes and who will also instruct the people, in order that the provincial governors will be also to please and serve me.

Just as a man feels confident when he has entrusted his child to a skilled nurse, thinking. "This skilled nurse will take good care of my child," so I have appointed the provincial governors for the welfare and happiness of my provincial people.

In oder that they may porform their duties fearlessly, confidently, and cheerfully, they have been given discretion in the distibution of honors and the infliction of punishments.

Impartiality is desirable in legal procedures and in punishments. I have therefore decreed that henceforth prisoners who have been convicted and sentenced to death shall be granted a respite of three days. (During this perlod their) relatives may appeal to the officials for the prisoners' lives; or if no one makes an appeal, the prisoners many prepare for the other world by distributing gifts or by fasts or by fasting.

For I desire that, when the period of respite has expired, they may attain happiness in the next world, and that various ways of practicing Dharma by self-control and the distribution of gifts my be increased among the people.

Kalinga Edict I

King Priyadarsi orders the following instructions to be transmitted to his officials at Tosali :*

Whenever something right comes to my attention, I want it put into practice and I want effective means devised to achieve it. My principal means to do this is to transmit my instructions to you. For I have placed you in charge of thousands of people to obtain their affection for me.

* The Dhauli texts reads Samapa. The two Kalinga Rock Edicts are found only at Dhauli and Jaugada. Kalinga Edicts I and II begin in the same fashion; but after proclaiming that all men are his concerning children. Asoka proceeds in Kalinga Edict II to instructions concerning relations to neighbouring states (see above, VI. A. 4) while in Kalinga Edict I he turns his attention to instructions concerning the administration of Justice.

All men are my children Just as I seek the welfare and happiness of my own children in this world and the next, I seek the same things for all men You do not understand this desire of mine fully Some of you may understand it, but even those grasp it only partially, not fully However elevated your position you must give it your attention

Sometimes in the administration of justice a person will suffer imprisonment or torture When this happens, he sometimes dies accidentally, and many other people suffer because of this

In such circumstances, you must try to follow the middle path (that is, justice or moderation) Envy, anger cruelty, impatience, lack of application, laziness, and fatigue intpesefere with the attainment of this middle path Therefore, each of you should try to be sure that you are not possessed by these passions

The key to success in this endeavour is not to become angry and not to hurry The tired administrator will not advance, but you should move advance, and progress Your supervisors must tell you "Put all your effort to carrying out the duties assigned to you by the King Such and such are the instructions of the Beloved of the Gods"

The observance of this injunction will produce great god, failure to observe it will produce great harm For if you fail to observe it you will attain neither heaven nor the King's favour The reason for this extreme thought is that a double gain is procured by observing this duty, for by carrying it out properly you will gain heaven and also satisfy your obligations to me

This edict must be read to all on every Tisya day It may be read even to individuals on suitable occasions at other times If you do this you will be able to carry out your duty.

This edict has been inscribed here to remind the judicial officers in this city to try at all times to avoid unjust imprisonment or unjust torture To the same end I shall send out every five years an official who will not be harsh or cruel but [illegible] his assignment will be to see that the ju[illegible]

ing my instructions. Moreover, the prince who governs the city of Ujjayini will send out the same kind of officials at least every three years. An official will be sent out from Taksasila also. These officials will not neglect their own duties, but they will also check to see whether the local judicial officers are carrying out the King's instructions.

10

ADMINISTRATION IN UTTARAMERUR*

Chola Purantaka I

The two inscriptions given below are from Uttaramerur a Brahmin AGRAHARAM village in the Chola empire They belong to the days of the Chola emperor, Purantaka I and are dated A D. 919 and A.D 921 They lay down the regulations for the selection of persons for the several committees which governed the village along side of the Mahasabha the general body of the adult males belonging to the Brahmin community The section was by lot Membership went by rotation so that the same persons or their relations might not continuously sit on the committees The regulations also lay down the qualifications and disqualifications in respect of the membership on the various committees

II 1-3 Hail Prosperity In the twelfth year of King Parakesarivarman, who captured Madura-W, (the members of) the Sabha of Uttaramerur Caturvedimangalam Tattanur muvendavelan being present in accordance with the order (conveyed) in the Srimukham (royal letter addressed) to our village, made the following settlement for chosing as committees every year from this year onwards, following) (viz) the annual committee, garden committee and tank committee

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* From M Venkatarangaiya and P Pattabhiram (eds) *Local Government in India Select Readings*, Allied Publishers (New Delhi 1969) pp 72 76

II. 3-6. There being thirty kudumbus (wards) in (each of these) thirty wards, the people of the war concerned shall assemble, and shall write down for pot tickets (kudav-olai) the names of those who (a) own more than fourth nilam of taxable land (b) reside in houses built on their own site, (c) are below sixty and above thirty years of age, (d) have a reputation of for proficiency in Veda, Sastra and (general) affairs, (e) possess material and spiritiual purity. (f) have not done variyam this side of three years, and (g) are not close relations of the perumakkal (members) who have done variyam and retired.

II. 6-7. They (they shall) collect (the tickets) by the seri, and shall constitute the annual committee of twelve persons by causing a body who cannot distinguish any forms to draw pot-tickets in such manner that there shall be one-person for each seri.

II. 7-8. Before that, pot-tickets shall be drawn similarly for the garden coommittee, and the twelve persons (thus chosen) shall form garden committee.

II. 8-9. The remaining six pot-tickets shall form the tank commitee.

I. 9. The three sorts of committees that do variyam, (after being appointed) by the drawing of thirty pot-tickets, sahll complete variyam for full three hundred and sixty days (and retire). The Committees that will be appointed thereafter shall be constituted as committees only by the drawing of pot-tickets after allotting pot-tickets to the kudumbus in accordance with this deed of settlement.

II. 9-10. And the relatives of those who have done variyam ......shall not have their names entered on pot-tickets and deposited (in the pot).

I. 10. For the pancavara committee and gold committee thirty pot-tickets shall be allotted to the thirty kudumbus, and pot-tickets shall be drawn (so as to get) one person for each seri ; of the twelve (thus chosen), six shall be the pancavara committee.

II. 10-11. Those who have once served on (any of) the committees other than annual committee shall not have pot-

tickets (with their names) deposited in the pot for the same committee.

II. 11-12. We the members of the Sabha of Uttaramerur-Caturvedi-mangalam, having been shown the gracious royal letter received from the lord of the gods, the emperor Sri Viranarayana Sri Parantakadeva alias Parakesarivarman, Tattanur-muvendavelan sitting with us in accordance with the order, made this settlement, in order that the wicked of our village may perish and the good prosper, viz., that in this manner, from this year as long as the sun and the moon endure we shall always appoint only pot-ticket committees.

II. 1-2. Hail! Prosperity! On the sixteenth day of the fourteenth year of king Parakesarivarman who conquered Madurai— We the members of the Sabha Uttaramerur-Caturvedimangalam in its own subdivision [illegible] of Kaliyanallur [illegible] gracious letter of His Majesty, our Lord Sri Viranarayana Sri Parantakadeva Sri Parakesarivarman having been received and shown to us, and in accordance with that order, Karanjai Kondaya Kramavittabhattan alias Somasiperuman of Sri Vanganagar in Purangaranaidu of the Sonadu, sitting with us by order—we made the following settlement with a view to appointing the variyam (committees) every year from this year onwards, the following viz., the annual committee, garden committee and tank committee.

II. 2-3. There being thirty kudumbus (wards), in each of these thirty wards, the people of the ward shall assemble and shall vote by pot-tickets the names of those who own more than one-fourth veli of taxable land, reside in houses built on their own sites, are below seventy and above thirty-five years of age, know the Mantrabrahmana and possess experience of teaching it.

II. 3-4. Though owning only an eighth of a veli, if a man is conversant in one Veda and one of the four Bhashyas [illegible] in place of the four [illegible], he shall also have his name written in the pot-ticket and put into the pot.

II. 4. Even among those who [illegible] those well conversant in business and virtuous [illegible]

be taken. Those who have material and spiritual purity, and have not done variyam this side of three years shall be chosen.

II. 4-6. Anyone who has done any variyam (before) and failed to show accounts, and his relatives as specified herein shall not have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot) (viz.) the sons of the younger and elder sisters of his mother ; the sons of his paternal aunt and maternal uncle ; the brother of his mother ; the brother of his father ; his own brother ; his father-in law, the brother of his wife ; the husband of his sister ; the sons of his sister ; the son-in-law who has married his daughter ; his father and his son.

I.6. Those against who incest or the first four of the five great sins are recorded and all their relations as specified herein-before shall not aslo have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot).

II. 6.7. Those who have fallen by association (with sinners) shall not have names written on pot-tickets till after they perform expiation.

I. 7. Those who are violent shall also not have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot). Those who have stolen others' property shall not also have their names written on pot-tickets and put (into the pot).

II. 7-8. Those who, after partaking of any forbidden dish, have become pure by performing the ghee expiation (?), shall not also to the end of their lives, have their names written on pot-tickets for the committees to be put (into the pot).

II. 8-9. Those who have become pure after performing expiation for sins, those who have become pure after performing expiation for having turned enemies of the village (gramakantaka), and those who have become pure after performing expiation for incest-all these persons shall not, to the end of their lives, have their names written on pot-tickets for committees to be put (into the pot.)

I. 9. Excluding all these persons specified above, names shall be written for pot-tickets in all the thirty wards ; and in these twelve series, separate covering tickets (vayolai) shall be attached

for each separate ward, and (the tickets of) the thirty wards shall be separately bundled and put (into the pot).

II 9-11 When pot tickets are (to be) drawn, the members, of the Mahasabha, young and old, shall be assembled at a full meeting, and the temple priests (nambimar) who happen to be in town on the day shall without any exception, be caused to be seated in the inner mandappa (pavilion) in the Mahasabha among the temple priests, an old priest shall hold the pot so as to be seen by all people (the bundle of) one ward shall be caused to be taken out by a boy who cannot see the difference (between things) even by day, and it shall be put into another pot and shaken, and one ticket shall be drawn out of that pot and placed in the hands of the arbitrator (madhyashtha)

I 11 When the madhyastha received the ticket thus given, he shall receive it in the palm of his hand with his five fingers spread out And he shall read (out) the ticket he has so received The ticket so read shall be read also by the temple priests in the inner pavilion The name so read shall be written down In this manner, one name shall be obtained from each of the thirty wards

II 11-12 Out of the thirty names so got, those who have served on the garden committee and the tank committee and those who are advanced in learning or in age shall form the annual committee

I 12 Of the rest twelve shall form the garden committee. The remaining six shall form the tank committee These two committees shall be formed by showing the karai (?) The members of the three kinds of committees that perform variyam shall do (their duties) for full three hundred and sixty days and then retire

II 12 13 Anyone who is found guilty among those who are serving on the committees shall be removed (forthwith)

I 13 (For) the committee to be appointed after the retirement of these, the members (variyar) who superintend charities in the twelve seris shall themselves cause the assembly to be convened by the madhyasthas The comittees shall be appointed

only by drawing pot-tickets in accordance with this deed of settlement.

II. 13-14. For the pancavara committee and the gold committee, names shall be written for pot-tickets in all thirty wards, and thirty bundles with covering tickets shall be put in, and thirty tickets drawn, from which again twelve names shall be drawn.

I. 14. Of these twelve so drawn, six shall form the gold committee, and six the pancavara committee.

II. 14-15. When drawing pot-tickets in the following year for these committees, the karai shall be drawn only among the wards that remain after excluding those that served on these committees before (in the preceding year).

I. 15 Those who rode on asses, and those who forged documents shall not have their names written on pot-tickets to be put (into the pot).

II. 15-16. Among madhyasthas, only a person possessing material purity (arthasaucam) shall write the accounts.

Until after a person who maintained accounts submits accounts along with the accounts-committee of the Sabha and is declared pure he shall not enter on (maintaining) other accounts.

A person who has been maintaining accounts shall himself submit his accounts ; other accountants shall not enter and close them.

II. 16-17. We, the members of the assembly of Uttaramerur-Catur-vedimangalam,-having been shown the gracious royal letter received from the lord of the gods, the emperor, the lover of scholars, the wrestler with elephants, the crest-jewel among heroes, the emulator of the Kalpaka, Shri Parakesarivarman : Karanjai Kondayakrmavitta Bhatta alias Somasiperuman of Shri Vanganagar in Purangarambainadu of the Sola-nadu sitting with us by order and causing us to måke this settlement—(we) made this settlement for the prosperity of our

village and for the destruction of the wicked and the increase of the rest viz that in this manner, from this year as long as the sun and the moon last we shall always appoint only pot ticket committees

II 17 18 I, the madhyastha, Kadadipottan Sivakuri Rajamalla Mangalapriyan, wrote this settlement in this wise to the dictation of the members (perumakkal) sitting in the assembly (kuriyullirundu)

11

THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT

In his *Political Theory of Ancient India ; A Study of Kingship from the earliest times to circa A. D. 300*, Dr. John W. Spellman undertakes a review of the political ideas and attitudes of ancient India. The uniqueness of his approach is in the fact that his review is against a back-ground not of the political theories of the post-Renaissance West, but of the whole culture complex of the Indian sub-continent in early times. Dr. Spellman has taken care to consider the political ideas of ancient India without undue reference to contemporary concepts, as valid in themselves as the products of one great civilization among the numerous cultures of ancient days.

Dr. Spellman arranges the whole of his discussion around *nine organising concepts, viz; (1) the origins of government ; (2) the divinity of king ; (3) the royal succession ; (4) ministers and councils ; (5) the rule of law ; (6) principles of stateeraft ; (7) the king and the economic system ; (8) religious aspects of rulership ; and (9) revolution in ancient India. Among these, the seventh and the nineth, viz. the king and the economic system as well as revolution in ancient India have a novelty about them in the sense that they are not the usual frameworks of analysis that are ordinarily used in discussions of politics in ancient India.

The selection included here is from Chapter One, wherein Dr. Spellman discusses the various origin theories found in the ancient Indian literature regarding the origin of Government.

THE ORIGINS OF GOVERNMENT

No, one of course can claim to know the precise origins of overnment It is nevertheless important to try to establish hat people believe to have been the origins because in those eliefs we are able to see more clearly their concepts of governnent

Legends

The earliest references to the king's origin exist on the divine ther than the human level The *Rg Veda* points out in several ferences [1] 'Of one accord they made and formed for kingship ndra, the hero who in all encounters overcometh, most eminent or power, destroyer in the conflict, fierce and exceeding strong, alwart and full of vigour [1]

'Bards joined in song to Indra so that he might drink the ma juice, the lord of light, that he whose laws stand fast might d with power and with help' In another Veda[2] it is stated at 'Heroes (*narah*—here, the gods) of one accord brought forth nd formed for kingship Indra who wins the victory in all ncounters, for power, in firmness, in the field, the great stroyer, fierce and exceeding strong stalwart and full of gour

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* From John W Spellman, *Political Theory of Ancient India*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964 pp 1-7

R V viii, 35 17, viii, 86 10 11

S V iv, ii, 4 1

The story is given in greater detail in the *Aitarreya Brahamna*[23] The gods and the Asuras, were at war. Repeatedly each victory went to the Asuras. In fact, the gods were being conquered in almost every quarter. "The gods were afraid,[4] "Throgh our disagreement the Asuras will wax great here." Having gone apart they took council ; Agni went out with the Vasus, Indra with the Rudras, Varuna with the Adityas. Brhaspati with the All-gods. Having thus gone apart they took council ; they said "Come, let us deposit our dearest bodies in the house of king Varuna, with them may he not be united who shall transgress this, who shall seek to cause trouble." "Be it so" (they replied). They dcposited their bodies in the house of king Varuna ; that became their bodily covenant ; that is the way the bodily covenant (*tanunapatra*) has its name. Therefore, they say, "One *should not show treachery to one united by the bodily covenant."* Therefore the Asuras do not wax great here.' The *Satapatha Brahmana*[6] puts it rather differently with the remark'......we are in an evil plight, the Asura-Rakshasas have come in between us; we shall fall a prey to our enemies. Let us come to an agreement and yield to the excellence of one of us. They yeilded to the excellence of Indra ; wherefore it is said, "Indra is all the deities, the gods have Indra for their Chief." '

In the *Taittiriya Brahmana* the story is again told that the Devas and Asuras joined in battle. Prajapati hid his eldest son Indra, affraid that he might be killed by the Asuras. Prahlada, the son of Kayadhu, did the same with his son Virocana, fearing that the Devas would kill him. The Devas went to Prajapati and said, 'there can be no possible battle for a state having no King'. After having received sacrifices, Indra became king.[7]

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3. A. B. 1, 14.
4. A. B. 1, 24.
5. Varuna being, as it were, God of the moral law and order was the logical god in whose name to make a pact.
6. S. B. III, 4.2.1-3. This story is also found in T. S. vi, 2.2.1, 2. A,B. viii, 12.
7. Tait. B. 1, 5; 9.

All these references show us one thing—that in early times the king was predominantly a military leader This accords with the historical situation as we know it of the early Vedic tribes The invaders had to fight hard for their existence in the new land No doubt they had a number of military set backs just as they envisaged the gods having It is reasonable to suppose that the same qualities that were attributed to Indra for his kingship were the qualifications on the human level It is possible to construe the texts to indicate a popular selection or likely an oligarchic selection of the king There exist, however, no grounds for categorically stating that the elective principle operated, although the probability was certainly greater in the early Vedic period than in later times One is inclined to feel, however, that the more likely situation was that srength and military leadership asserted itself This is the usual principle upon which most undefined political and resurgent groups operate That the leader after acquiring added strength and reputation should appoint his own successor would seem not unnatural

The State of Nature

The original state of nature has been variously described Some have felt this was a lush paradise where righteouness prevailed no laws were necessary, no king needed, everything was perfect This is the regressive theory of mankind, which maintains that it has become worse with passing time The decline of this golden age may be sharp or gradual In the case of Adam and Eve for example, it was immediate Although their nature may have been originally perfect, once sullied they were irrevocably condemned We may note, that in all these legends of a golden age, the offence which cause the decline is a moral one, usually a violation of a divine injunction or the natural order The Indian tradition does not however have the abrupt decline found in the Judaic Christian tradition

In the *Vana Parvan*[8] we are told of the purity and godliness with which men lived in former days Unhappiness did not

8 *Mbh* (R) *Vana* P 183

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In the *Vana Parvan*[8] we are told of the purity and godliness with which men lived in former days Unhappiness did not

8 *Mbh* (R) *Vana* P 183

exist ; all wishes were fulfilled. Because men were equal to gods they could go back and forth from heaven and earth as they pleased, and as often as they pleased, since they lived for over a thousand years.[9] In time, however, decay set in and troubles began. The *Santi Parvan*[10] also relates a similar legend about a time when life was hyppy without a king or laws or other social restrictions. Men protected each other and everyone was virtuous. But then error crept in, virtue declined, lust and greed and jealousy appeared, there was no distinction between right and wrong, the Vedas disappeared and finally virtue ceased to exist. Sacrifices were no longer held and the gods themselves were threatened.

The Buddhists likewise postulated the existence of the golden age,[11] after which man by repeated and progressively worse sinful actions reduced his life from hundreds of thousands of years to twenty years. They, however, suppose that this is a cyclical phenomenon, and that in time man will again live for thousands of years.

All the world has become sinful and in consequence we must endure hardships and suffering. Only on the other side of Himavat is there still a region of perfect happiness—and even there the people must practise austerities.[12]

Another theory which has sometimes been held in various parts of the world is that in the beginning the world was in a very unhappy state and that because of this it became necessary to establish a king, laws and other agencies that restrain man

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9. Indeed in most ancient histories we find men living for incredible lengths of time. Chinese history and sections from the Old Testament provide us with illustrations of these, and India has her share. Whether this is poor chronology or a sop to the theory of the Golden Age is another question.

10. Mbh. S.P. 59. 14-27.

11. D. III, 61-77.

12. Mbh. (R) S.P. 167. 7-23.

from pursuing his naturally evil ways Just as traces of the Golden Age theory may be found in the writings of Rousseau, Clotius, and Locke, the concept of the evil nature of man can be seen in the works of Hobbes and Hooker The Chinese Legalist school of political thought held the same view of human nature and believed that government had its origin in the necessity to curb anarchy [13]

Mo tze, one of the early Chinese philosophers, wrote 'In the days of old when there was no government every man observed his own standard As every man s standard was different two men and two standards and ten men ten standards , the more the people, the more the standards that existed Every man justified his own standard and despised that of the other man, so that there resulted relationships or mutual despising In the homes, disagreement existed between father and son, between brother and brother In the market, people were to one another as water and fire hating one another like poison, so that spare energy could not be used for mutual help They held it better that surplus wealth should rot than be used for the common good Knowledge that was gained was hidden and concealed , no exchange of experience was possible Chaos was the order of the day men lived together like beasts Finally it was realized that until there was a leader to unify the standards of men, chaos must be a natural sequence Therefore *the man who combined in himself goodness wisdom, and* sagacity was made emperor to bring uniformity out of many standards [14]

The Doctrine of Matsyanyaya

In ancient India the fear of anarchy was almost pathological Underlying every concept of kingship was the doctrine of *matsyanyaya*—the analogy of the big fish eating up the little fish In other words society in its natural state is anarchy, and without laws and a king to rule, the strong will dominate and

13 Lian-Chi Chao *History of Chinese Political Thought*, p 123

14 Ibid p 105 6

ruthlessly exploit the weak; just as big fish eat up their smaller companions. Without understanding this idea, there can be no understanding of kingship in ancient India. Although this concept of human nature existed in other countries, it was in India that it reached its highest development and became the central theme of political philosophy.

The earliest traces of the idea of *matsyanyaya* are to be found in the *Satapatha Brahmana*[15] : :Whenever there is drought, then stronger seizes the weaker, for the waters are the law.: We shall discuss the relationship of water, law, and the king in a later chapter. Manu states : "The Creator created the king for the protection of all this world when everything ran through fear hither and thither, as there was then no ruler of the world.[16] He continues : If the the king does not sedulously employ *danda* for punishing those that deserve it, the strong would torment the weak as fish are fried on a pike or as in water fish devour each other.[17] *Matsyanyaya* operates in the absence of a king (*arajaka*) or when there is no fear of punishment. The horror with which writers viewed this situation can be traced throughout the period of ancient Indian history.[18]

The picture of the world without a king is a frightening one. The Santi Parvan gives us some illustration of what it would be like. 'As all creatures become unable to see one another and sink in utter darkness if the sun and the moon do not rise, as fishes in shallow water and birds in a spot safe from danger dart and rove as they please (for a time) and repeatedly attack and grind one another with force and then meet with certain destruction, even so men sink in utter darkness and meet with destruction if they have no king to protect them, like a herd of cattle without a herdsman to look after them. If the king did not exercise the duty of protection the strong would forcibly appro-

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15. S. B. xi, 1. 6-24.
16. Manu VII, 3.
17. Manu VII, 14-20.
18. Rama. Ayodhya 67 ; Mbh. S.P. 15. 30, 67.16 ; Matsya P. 225.9 ; Arth. I, 13-22, and Narada XVIII, 15-16.

priate the possessions of the weak, and if the latter refused to surrender them with ease, their very lives would be taken

'Nobody then, with references to any article in his possession, would be able to say, "this is mine" Wives, sons, food, and other kinds of property would not then exist Ruin would overtake everything if the king did not exercise the duty of protection Wicked men would forcibly appropriate the vehicles and robes and ornaments and precious stones and other kinds of property belonging to others, if the king did not protect

'If the king did not protect, all persons possessed of wealth have to encounter death, confinement, and persecution, and the very idea of property would disappear If the king did not protect, everything would be exterminated prematurely, and every part of the country would be overrun by robbers and everyone would fall into terrible hell If the king did not protect, all restrictions about marriage and intercourse would cease, all affairs relating to agriculture and trade would fall into confusion, morality would sink and be lost, and the three Vedas would disappear Sacrifices, duly completed with presents according to the sacred texts would no longer be performed, no marriage would take place, society itself would *cease to exist if the king did not exercise the duty of protection*

It is no wonder then that it is categorically stated that *'anarchy is the worst possible of states'* and *'no one should dwell* in kingdoms torn by anarchy '[19] Thus, the first duty of a kingdom is the coronation of a king No one can be happy in a state of anarchy, because those who injure are themselves injured by others in return This, the political theorists tell us, was the situation in the past when the strong preyed on the weak after the manner of fishes in the water

It is clear, then, that the king is a necessity On occasion he may be cruel, arbitrary, and unjust, but even so he is the

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19 Mbh S P 68 850

lesser of two evils. This is also significant in Indian political theory. Kingship was never held, *per se*, to be a good thing. It was a blessing only in that it saved mĕn from a worse condition. Kingship was considered as a regrettable, but very necessary institution.

Nevrtheless there are some vague reminiscences about a sort of 'republic' as a result of this anarchy. 'It has been heard by us that a few amongst them then assembling together made certain compacts saying, "He who becomes harsh in speech, or violent in temper, he who seduces or abducts other people's wives or robs the wealth that belongs to others should be cast off by us." For inspiring confidence among all classes of the people, they made such a compact and lived for some time.[20] Nevertheless, after a while, they went to Brahma saying 'without a king, O divine lord, we are going to destruction. Appoint some one as our king.[21] Yet, it is unlikely in a society whose philosophy of life in general and political philosophy in particular are so interwoven with the concepts of kingship, that we should find many republican forms of government. Although these flourished for a while in sections of Northern India, especially during Buddhist times, they were definitely the political exception.

Elven the principle of rulership as a safeguard against anarchy, some important political concepts emerge. One of the most important is that of rights versus obligations. In the west, we are accustomed to the idea that we possess certain 'rights' and, indeed, that we possess these naturally and inalienable, as Locke put it. In India, no such clear-cut doctrine of rights existed. The issue was one of responsibility and obligation. As will be shown later the king had obligations to his subjects and they in turn, to him. This had considerable implications. The people could never revolt, theoretically, because their rights were being usurped, but only because the king failed in his obligations to them. The concept of rights has played a

20. Mbh. S.P. 67. 18.—. 9 ff.

21. Ibid,

part in the history of Western revolutions that would not have been possible in ancient India, where it was little emphasised

Some historians may say, however, that the people had the 'right' of protection or that the king had the 'right' to tax Strictly speaking, this is not so The king had an obligation to protect and the people to pay taxes The distinction may seem merely a semantic one, but the implications were far reaching Although the reality of a cup of water that is half full or half-empty is the same, one's attitude in coming to either conclusion may be significant Just so were the political consequences in considering a thing to be an obligation rather than a right

The idea of *matsyanyaya*, however, became more than simply the *raison d etre* for kingship It underlay the concept of *varnasramadharma* Just as the various classes had been created separately,[22] they should remain distinct If it were otherwise and a confusion of the castes resulted, one would be encouraging social chaos and eventually a kind of anarchy It is one of the functions of the king to ensure that the people remain in their assigned places in society The *Satapatha Brahmana* points out,[23] that during the sacrifice it should be said, 'May all the people descend to thee ' On this mantra the text comments as follows 'Now in saying, "Descend unto all thy people, "he does what is unseemly, for Soma being the nobility, he thereby, as it were, confounds good and bad And, indeed, in consequence thereof, people now confound good and bad But in this (formula) he does what is right and according to order in saying go down (on their knees) before him , and hence when a noble approaches, all these subjects, the people, go down bofore him, crouch down by him on the ground '

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22 *R V x, 90* This is the overwhelming opinion of the Vedic texts During the Buddhist period this idea had less significance in their own theories There is however, a section in the *Santi Parvan* (188 10 14) which denies the separate creation of the classes and states that all castes are merely various gradations of Brahmans who have fallen away from their duties

23 S B III 9 3 7

The doctrine of *matsyanyaya* was, then an important consideration in establishing the theoretical basis for the origins of kingship.

The Organic Theory of the State

The organic theory of the State, briefly, holds that the State, like an organism, consists of a number of parts. Although these parts have some measure of separateness, they are nevertheless interdependent. Each organ is concerned with a special function of the organism and superiority may often be dependent upon a particular threatening condition of the moment, with one organ, i.e. the head, usually being most important and in a position of control.

We have already seen that, according to most of the texts, society was created in distinct groups and in descending order of beings or things. This is the usual religious interpretation given to the creation legends, whether they be Christian, Buddhist, or Hindu. The evolutionary views of creation through ascending order from inferiority finds hardly any place in Indian polity.[24]

The Hindu organic theory of the State is based largely upon the seven elements of the State (*rajya*). Although authorities differ, the usual lists include : the ruler or sovereign (*svamin*), the minister (*amatya*), the territory of the State and its people (*rastra* or *janapada*), the fortified city or capital (*durga*), the treasury of the king (*kosa*), the army (*danda*), friends and allies (*mitra*). It is generally assumed that in this list of the seven *angas* the elements are given in order of decreasing importance.[25] Practically all authorities agree that the *svamin* is the most important of all.

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24. According to the sacrificial mantras of S.B. XII, 7.3.9. the nobility is produced from the peasantry. However, this appears to be more of a sociological explanation for the division of socity than a religious one.

25 *Arth*. VIII, I. *Manu* IX, 295. Kautilya speaks of eight *angas* and includes the enemy (ari). See also P.V. Kane, H.O.D., vol. iii, ch. II.

Anjaria denied that the organic theory of the State existed in ancient India He held that since the State was not a moral institution and withheld the liberty of a large segment of the population on the ground that they were inferior, this concept could not properly apply[26] The organic theory, in the first place, is a functional concept and not an inherently moral one Secondly, although the two concepts are often confused, it is useful to distinguish the political organisation from the morality of society The *Matsya Purana*[27] refers to the same organic concept when it says, 'the king was the root and the subjects were the tree' The organic theory of the State was therefore certainly known and held in ancient India[28]

The Sacrificial Theory of the State

There was, however, yet another theory of the State that I want to suggest was peculiar to ancient India This we may call the sacrificial theory of the State In this concept, the State exists as a sacrifice itself and as the agent in securing *moksa* or salvation for the people

Let me first explain what I mean by this theory It is no
unsual in systems of monarchy for the king to have son
superior position in the religious structure In England, f
example, the Sovereign is 'Defender of the Faith', and in
history of kingship similar ideas can be found in many ot
countries In India, the king was more than merely this
was the foundation upon which all religious activities re
Through him it was possible to obtain the world of the
Of all these who sacrificed in the land, he was the chief
as a priest regulated the details of a sacrifice, the king reg
the duties of the people Thus, the State itself may be

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26 H G Anjaria, *Nature and Grouds of Political Obligation*
Hindu State, ch IV

27 Matsya P 219 34

28 See also D R Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian* 66 89, and KJayaswal P, *Hindn Polity*, Part II, p 9

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dered as a sacrifice. Each part of the State has its particular function and duties in this sacrifice, the purpose of which is a better future life. That sacrifice played important part in the scheme of things in ancient India is clear to every Indologist.

That the State and society may be compared to a sacrifice is illustrated in the Satapatha Brahmana[29] in connexion with the laying of the bricks of the sacrificial altar.

'Now this is only a single (brick). He thus makes the nobility (or the chieftancy) and (social) distinction to attach to a single (person). And what second (such brick there is) that is its mate, a mate, doubtless, is one half of one's own self, for when one is with a mate then he is whole and complete. Thus it is laid down for the sake of completeness. With a single formula he lays down many bricks, he thereby endows the nobility pre-eminently with power and makes the nobility more powerful than the peasantry......' A further passage[30] goes on to relate that in the building of altar fires one keeps in mind social distinctions, the acquisition of power and various degrees of political supremacy, and that one should perform the sacrifice with a view to ensuring these things.

In considering the State itself as a sacrifice, the duties of the various classes are set down. The classes themselves, we are told in the famous hymn X. 90 of the *Rg. Veda*, were the result of the sacrifice of Purusa by the gods and Rsis. Manu[31] carries this further. "To Brahmans he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms). The ksatriya he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures. The vaisya to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), to trade, to lend. One occupa-

29. S.B, VII, 5.2.3.

30. S.B. IX, 4.3.1-3, S.B.IX, 4.3.9.

31, *Manu* 1, 88-91.

tion only the lord prescribed to the sudra, to serve meekly even these (other) three classes'

While noticing that all three classes have in common the duty of studying the Veda and sacrificing the important idea from this point of view, is that all classes were assigned certain functions the total of which would fulfil the grand sacrifice

Indeed, one of the most significant words for the science of government is *dandaniti*, and this, we are told,[32] controls the four *varnas* so as to lead them on to the performance of their duties and, when it is employed by the ruler properly, it makes them desist from *adharma*' It is the means of the stability and welfare of *Anviksiki* (philosophy), *Trayi* (the three Vedas) and *Vartta*[33] (industry and commerce) and is in fact *rajadharma*[34] It is helpful when considering the State in this light to appreciate the moral implications in the very words denoting the concept of government

There are good reasons why the king is enjoined to show special favours to the Brahmans to exempt them from taxes, and to provide them with certain necessities of life 'The merits of religious ceremonies performed by Brahmans living under the protection of a king prolong his life and improve the condition of his subjects[35] Such things are interdependent 'When his people are flourishing the religious merit and the treasure of a king are sure to be in a flourishing state as well'[36] Protected by the king, all creatures live happily, like children protected by their parents Kingly duties are the foremost of all duties 'and those eternal duties, regarded as the first in the world lead to eternal emancipation[37] All the merits earn

32 Mbh S P 70 3

33 *Arth* I, 4

34 *Mbh* (R) S P 63 28

35 *Agni* P CC XXIII 30-32

36 *Narada* XI 43

37 *Mbh* (R) S P 64-29 30 Cf S P 64 29 65 2, 3ff

by people practising their duties in the four classes attach themselves to the righteous king.[38] Put more bluntly, 'The gods, men, Pitrs, Gandharvas, Uragas, and Raksasas, all depend upon sacrifices for their support. In a country destitute of a king, there can be no sacrifices. Sacrifice depends on the king.[39] Put forth as one of the reasons for the existence of kingship, i.e. as a sacrificial agency, the deduction that the State itself is a sacrifice is not unreasonable. It could be suggested that the division of the time of the king given in various texts,[40] is itself an effort to ensure that all aspects of the sacrifice are considered. 'Hence', says Kautilya, 'the king shall never allow people to swerve from their duties ; for whoever upholds his own duty, ever adhering to the customs of the Aryas and following the rules of caste and division of religious life, will surely be happy both here and hereafter.[41]

This concept occurs in one of its most striking forms in a a passage in the *Arthasastra*[42] 'Of a king, the religious vow is his readiness to action ; satisfactory discharge of duties is his performance of sacrifice ; equal attention to all is the offer of fees and ablution towards consecration.'

Here, indeed, various functions of kingship are likened to the component parts of a sacrifice. Thus in performing his duties the king was engaging in a sacrifice in which all the state and people were involved. Each was to fulfil its particular role in sacrifice. That the State was a sacrifice could be used as an argument that what was, was right, and that treason was blasphemy.

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38. *Mbh.* (R) S P. 66.4 Usually one quarter of the merit, cf., S.P. 72-19.
39. *Mbh.* S.P. 72.20-21.
40. *Manu* VII, 145-7, 151-4, 216-26 ; *Yai.* I, 327-33 ; *Arth.* I.19.
41. *Arth* I III, 6.
42. *Arth.* I, XIX, 39.

Kingship Through Karma

Just as the idea of *Karma* enters so many aspects of Indian philosophy, we are not surprised to find it as an argument justifying the rulership of a king The theory here is that my past lives and actions have made me what I am in this life Since my *Karma* was such that I am now king, I have, of course, every right to be king and my position is not dependent upon the gods or men, but on my own past and present actions It may transpire that I shall forfeit my kingship by certain actions which change my destiny Thus we read in the *Santi Parvan*[43] that kings and all others born in high families have become what they are only in consequence of their penance

In the same section of the *Mahabharta*,[44] we are told of a region in the heavens where gods bestow kingdoms and riches upon men induced by their good deeds, and take them away when men fall away from virtue. *Narada*[45], holding the same view, says that a ruler has purchased his subjects through austerities and therefore is their lord and must be obeyed The *Agni Purana*[46] declares that repeating the Gayatri mantra ten million times in this life confers sovereignty, and that by bathing for a year in the composition known as the *Pancamrta* and by making a gift of a cow to a Brahman at its close, a man becomes a king in the next existence[47] If he practices for a year the *Vrata* of eating his meals after dedicating them first to the souls of his departed *manes*, he also becomes a king The *Kausitaki Upanisad*[48] on the other hand, makes the acquisition of kingship a matter of knowledge, pointing out that in the cas of Indra "This selfsame breathing spirit (*prana*) even the intell gential self (*prajnatman*) has entered this bodily self (*sarir atman*) up to the hire and fingernail tips , and that as lo as Indra failed to understand this self he was defeated 'Li

43 *Mbh* (R) S P 246 19
44 *Mbh* (R) S P 271 16
45 *Narada* XVIII, 25, cf *Manu* VII, III 12, and *Mbh* (R) S P 78
46 *Agni* P CCXV, 10-15
47 Ibid CXCIX, 3, 6
48 K U 4 20.

wise, also, he who knows this, striking aff all evils *(papman)* compasses the supremacy, independent sovereignity, and overlordship of all beings......'

Divine Appointment

The next problem we are faced with in a discussion of the origins of kingship in ancient India is probably one of the thorniest in Indian political theory. Was the first king thought to be divinely appointed or elected on the principle of something akin to the social contract theory ? In trying to reach an understanding of this issue, it seems wiser to examine each case separately and then to compare the two.

The earliest reference to the divine appointment of kings in the *Rg Veda*,[49] in connexion with the coronation ceremony. 'This man hath Indra established, made secure by a strong oblation.' It is true that in this same hymn are found the words, 'Let all the people wish for thee, let not thy kingship fall away.' Notwithstanding this, it is clearly indicated that Indra establishes the king and the prayers are sent to Varuna, Brhaspati, and Agni as well as Indra to keep the reign steadfast.

In the *Satapatha Brahmana*[50] it is Surya who is stated to govern all the world by means of either a good or bad king. The *Aitareya Brahmana*[51] is quite explicit in stating that the king was divinely appointed. 'Varuna within the waters hath set him down, preserving order, for overlordship, for pyramount rule, for self rule, for sovereignity, for supreme authority, for kingship, for great kingship, for suzerainty, for supremacy, for pre-eminence, the wise one.' This is given in greater detail by explaining that in the eastern quarter (presumably of the world or India) the Vasus anoint, in the southern, the Rudras, the Adityas in the middle section. In a famous section of the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*[52]

49. R.V. X, 173.
50. S.B. II, 6 3.8.
51. A.B. VII, 17, VIII, 13, VIII, 14, VIII, 19.
52. B. U. 1, 4.11.

t is stated that "in the beginning this world was Brahma, one only Being one, he was not developed He created still further a superior from the ksatrahood, even those who are Ksatras (rulers) among the gods, Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrtyu, Isana Therefore there is nothing higher than ksatra Therefore at the Rajasuya ceremony the Brahman sits below the Ksatriya Upon Ksatrahood alone does he confer this honour' This passage again declares that the Ksatriya is divine in origin, though it is fair to add that the other castes are divine also and here it is also stated that even if the king attains supremacy, he rests finally upon the Brahman as his own source

At the beginning of the Golden Age there was no earthly king though Indra was the ruler of the gods According to a legend of the Ramayana,[53] men approached Brahma and, pointing out that Indra was king of the gods, asked that they also should have a king After all the gods had given a proportion of their energies, Brahman made a sound and this become the name of the king appointed by Brahma Once again we have an unmistakable indication of a belief in the origin of kingship by divine appointment

In the *Mahabharata*, the concept of divine appointmen predominates, although other theories of origin are also to b found in this text 'Like tigers and other carnivorous beast persons destitute of self-restraint always inspire all creatu with dread For controlling these men, the Self-Born (Brahr created kings[54] There are two rather important sections of *Santi Prvan* which deal with the origin of kingship The fi is prompted by a question from Youdhisthira to Bhis 'Whence arose the word "rajan"? For what reason doe man, the king govern the rest of the world numbering men possessed of great intelligence and bravery?' Bhisr answering, related that at first in the golden age, there v

53 *Rama* Uttare LXXXV
54 *Mbh* (R) S P 220 7
55 *Mbh* S P 51 5.

king, but that as time passed men began to commit violence against each other, When this became rampant the Vedas were lost and unrighteousness prevailed. The gods were overcome with fear and asked Brahma for help, that they might not meet with destruction. He composed a treatise on the four human aims of *dhrama*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksa*, with which to guide mankind. After this has been abridged, in view of the shortness of man's life, the gods went to Visnu and asked him to indicate a mortal who deserved superiofity over all the rest. By his will he produced a son named Virajas who refused to accept sovereignty and after two more generations had refused Ananga, who was pious and just, became king. His son Ativala became a slave of his passions and his marriage to Sunita produced the wicked Vena, whom the Rsis killed with blades of *kusa* grass inspired with mantras. From the wound in Vena's right arm sprang the righteous Prthu. The gods and the Rsis present instructed him in *raladharma*, and as a result 'there was neither decrepitude nor famine, nor calamity nor disease on earth. That high-souled king caused all creatures to regard rightesousness as the foremost of all things and because he gratified all the people, therefore was he called Rajan.[56] And Visnu himself entered the body the king after confirming that no one should transcend Prthu.

A later section continues in more generalized terms. An individual who has exhausted him merit comes down from the heavens to be king. Such a person, we are told, is really a portion of Visnu on earth' who has exceptional knowledge and obtains superiority over others. 'Established by the gods, no one transcends him. It is for this reason that everybody acts in obedience to one and it is for this that the world cannot command him.'[57]

In both the preceding cases, it is clear that the king was divinely appointed. Although an oath was administered to Prthu, this was done by the gods and sages were the representa-

56. *Mbh.* S. P. 59. 127.
57. *Mbh.* (R) S. P. 59. 133-5

ves of the people, but we have no good reasons for assuming this The legends, in their present forms, point to a belief in the divine origin of kingship

The *Agni Purana*[58] reaffirms the idea of divine appointment 'Having installed the king Prthu over all these, Hari and Brahma parcelled out sovereignty unto others The Lord Hari conferred the sovereignty of Brahmans and plants on the moon, that of water on Varuna Vaisravana was the king of riches, Visnu the lord of the Sun ' and so on describing the kings of various animals, vegetables, and minerals

Chapter 67 of the Santi Parvan, after describing the evils confronting man in the state of anarchy and the necessity of finding a remedy for such a situation states categorically, 'For these reasons, the gods created kings for protecting the people '[59]

Manu also favours the idea of the divine origin of the king 'For, when these creatures being, through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole creation, taking for that purpose eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera) Because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre .[60]

The *Naradasmrti* leaves no doubt as to its disbelief in th contractual theory The king is stated to be Indra himself an the subjects are told they must obey the king, however, unjust may be[61]

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58 *Agni* P XIX 19 28
59 *Mbh* S P 67 15
60 *Manu* VII, 3 5
61 *Narada* XVIII, 20-25

King Appointed by Rsis

To move from the theory of divine appointment straight to that of the social contract is a considerable step in political thought. Nor is this move justified, in a study of development of polity in ancient India, for there were several intermediate theories. It would appear that the next step[62] was a semidivine appointment by the rsis. In some of the passages above we have seen the seers playing some part in the legends connected with the king's origin.

One of the earliest illustrations of this can be found in a section of the *Atharva Veda*[63] 'Desiring what is excellent, the heaven-finding Rsis in the beginning sat down in attendance upon (*upanisad*) ardour (and) consecration ; thence was born royalty, strength, and force ; let the gods make that submissive to this man'.

In the Mahabharata a number of reference occur, the nature of which is to suggest that either kingship or the king is established by the rsis. The *Vana Parvan*[64] after citing some of the titles by which the king is known, states that it was the rsis who entrusted the temporal power to the king that righteousness might be done. It was the rsis together with the high gods who appointed Nahusa as king after Indra had committed Brahmanicide.[65] After Rama had rid the earth of ksatriyas, which resulted in anarchy once again, it was the sage Kasyapa, who at the request of the Earth, performed sacrifice and installed various kings to protect her.[66] It was the rsis who joined in with Brahma to perform a great sacrifice from which came Asi (the sword) for the protection of the world and the destruction

62. This is merely a term of convenience and not necessarily a chronological assessment although historically the general rule has been that sovereignty has passed from one to many i. e. king, oligarchy, aristocracy, popular assembly, democracy, &c. Geographic and demographilc facfors may have altered this transition in various places.

63. A. V. XIX, 41.

64. *Mbh.* (R) *Vana* P. 18·.

65. *Mbh. Udyoga* P. II. I-5ff.

66. *Mbh.* S. P. 49. 60-85.

of enemies of righteousness After the gods had defeated the Danavas, it was the rsis who gave that sword to Indra, and it was in turn given to many after he was told that as lord of all men he was to protect all creatures[67] In another legend, when the Asuras had destroyed the righteousness in men and had been defeated by Siva, we are told that 'the seven ancient Rsis came forward and installed Indra as the chief of the gods and the ruler of heaven And they took upon themselves the task of holding the rod of chastisement over mankind After the seven Rsis came king Viprthu and many other kings '[68]

67 *Mbh* (R) S P 167 42 70
68 *Mbh* (R) S P 245 18-20

12

KINGSHIP IN INDIA

In this extremely probing work, first published in 1966, J Gonda makes a thorough going study of kingship in Ancient India In an attempt to summarize his treatment of the subject, one can only list the titles of the twenty-five chapters in to which Gonda has divided his work They are (1) Ideas connected with the main "terms" and epithets of "King", (2) The King as a mediator, manifestations or royal powers, salvation expected from kingly potency, (3) Taxes, wealth and liberality of the king, (4) The king upholds dharma, rajadharma, justice, (5) Royal tabus, (b) The King as a deva and a representative of Gods, (7) Good and bad kings, morality and majesty, (8) Parapharnelia and officials, (9) The King as the embodiment of divine powers, Gods called Kings, (10) Prasada, parallelism between kings and gods, Buddhism on the Chakravartin, (11) Kings and brahmins, the purohita, the king as a Protector, (12) Rites, ceremonies, festivals etc, (13) Darsana, death of the king, the royal guest, (14) Royal consecration, (15) Abhisheka, Kings Conquests, (19) The relation of the king to the earth, his "long arms", (20) The asvamedha, (21) Vira and Svaraj, (22) The Chakravartin; (23) Prithu, Manu, and, the Ideal King, (24) Ministers, Kingdom (25) Aryan and non-Aryan elements, Indo-European

ship. But for the author's failure to arrange his discussion around some organising concepts, which would have made the work more analytical, this descriptive study of kingship in India is an extremely informative one.

KINGSHIP IN INDIA*

In India the divinity of kings, however, small their domain[1], has always been accepted by the masses[2] The bearer of authority inspires awe, fear or admiration Wielding power and occupying a lonely post he is a human being, but I consider you to be a god, whose behaviour, if it is in accordance with dharma (norms) and artha (political utility) is superhuman"[3]

The actual conduct of public affairs lay largely with the prime minister or chief consellor[4] Although authorities disagree[5]) with regard to the question whether misfortune or calamity falling upon the king is a greater evil than that attack ing his prime minister, even those who hold the former opinion tacitly admit that, it is true, the king appoints the minister, but leaves the affairs of state to a large extent to the latter[6]. The minister causes the commencement of all undertakings in public life, and the entire administrative work was, at least at a somewhat later period, carried on by him A king should never ac without his advice[7])

Let us first briefly review the ideas connected by the ancie Indians themselves with the main term for king *rajan*— Fr the exegetical discussions of the Purvamimamsa and the wo on dharma it appears that the term was often understood

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* From, J Gonda *Ancient Ind an Kingship F View* (Second Photomechanical Re, lands 1969 pp 1-17

sense of any member of the three highest classes who actually rules over or proteets a country. Sometimes the application is explicitly limited to a *ksatriya*—, a member of the second class[8]. The idea of protecting the people, however, was centrai, and also appears from such well-known aynonyms as *nrpa*—"protector of men", *bhupa*— and *bhupala*—"protector or guardian of the earth": *grptr*—"herdaman", etc.[9]. The phrase "herdsman of people" (*gopa-janasya*) occurs as early as the times of the Rgveda[10]). "The man who can protect men, who is valorous, restrained and powerful, and who is the punisher of the wicked is called *ksatriya*—"[11]). The king was to be ever wakeful, for the benefit of his people[12]. He had even been created to be the protector of the classes and orders of society[13]. "It is said that the Creator (*dhatra*) created power (*balam*) for protecting weakness"[14]. "The vaisya, under the rule of the ksatryia, becomes possessed of cattle"[15]. Mercy for all creatures, protection of men, saving them from danger, relieving the distressed and the oppressed, all these are included in the ksatriya duties[16]. According to a great authority, Manu's dharma book[17], the second part of the name of a ksatriya should be a word implying protection, of a word expressive of thriving, and of a sudra a term denoting service. In the Mahabharata the term for "member of the military class", *ksatriya*, is said to derive from two components, which together express the meaning : "he saves from destruction" : *ksatad yo vai trvyatiti sa tasmat kaatriyah smrtah* A similar explication of the world alerady occurs in the Brhadaranyak a-upnisad : "nobility" (*ksatram*) is "life-breath" (*pranah*) ; the breath of life protects (*trayate*) one from being hurt (*ksanitoh*)[18]. "Behave like the sun which protects (*pati*) and destroys all creatures by its rays" ; "protecting one's subjects is from of old *tapas* (asceticism, the word meaning primarily, heat, warmth[19]" are likewise authoritative opinions on kingship. All creatures live happily in the world if they are protected by kings like children are protected by their parents[20]. Among the godlike characteristics of a good king the protection which he affords to his subjects is often mentioned in the first place : "Hear an account of that king of the world, of the life of your illustrious father he was noble and virtuous, and a protector of his subjects. Like Dharma incar-

nate he protected the four orders, keeping them in their respective duties Blessed with fortune or welfare (*sriman*) and with matchless prowess he protected the earth, and so on"[21] A priest without knowledge and a king without protecting power are but wooden elephants[22] There is no need for such a man on the throne, he is like a eunuch or a barren field, or like a cloud that does not pour rain But the person who always protects the good and checks the wicked deserves to become a king and to govern the world For if the king does observe the duty of protection ruin would befall everything, no property would be safe, unrighteousness would prevail, everything would be destroyed untimely, the Vedas and morality would disappear, sacrifices would no longer be celebrated, in short society itself would cease to exist[23]

It may indeed be emphasized that this most important of the royal duties comprised any furtherance of the moral and material welfare of the people The ruler was to help men of all classes in realizing their earthly and spiritual aims The king in whose dominion a member of one of the three higher classes becomes a thief is on that account considered a sinner himself[24] Not infrequently our sources make mention of a formal promise on the part of a newly elected or inaugurated sovereign to protect his subjects[25] The prajapalana is agian and again inculcated as the first duty of rulers[26].

A typical indication of the character of the monarch is als the term *natha*, a brief digression on which may find a pla here The neuter *natham* is in Vedic texts used to denote t ideas of "refugee" or "protection" "let all the gods be refugee"[27], "they run for help to Prajapati, seeking refuge In post Vedic texts the masculine *natha* is often used to sig the patron, protector of the helpless the husband is the *n* of his wife in distress, the lord Krsna is the *natha* of those suffer grief and adversity, in battle heroes are nathas of companions, an army is protected by an heroic *natha*, Ra the *natha* of the world"[28] When cattle are said to hav god of rain, Parjanya, as their *natha*, this means that th completely dependent on him The only word in a

language with which *natha* can be connected is the Greek *onineme* : it means : "to profit, benefit, help," the substantive *oniyar* "that which brings profit, advantage ; means of strengthening ; food, rich presents"[29] . In the days of yore, when there was no kingship, the great epic relates[30], all men used to protect one another in accordance with dharma; but in the course of time they got tired of doing so. According to the received belief in the epic man they lived in anarchy. At first there was neither king nor kingdom, nor punishment, nor one to inflict it.; but when men's sense of justice was destroyed, various crimes were perpetrated. The gods becoming frightened. created law and order.

The better the king, the greater we might infer from the texts his power to protect[31]. On the other hand the extreme view is pronounced by an authority on dharma[32], that on account of his majesty and because the protection of the world is entrusted to him the king is right in whatever he does.

It is only in harmony with this important function of the ruler that he is in the idealizing style of primitive thought, depicted as physically strong[33] : he is able to protect by his own strength. He is like Indra courageous and energetic ; the length and strength of his arms are renowned. The whole world is subject to the power of his arms[34]. Emphasis is also laid on his prowess, strength and valour, which set up a greater claim to honour than high birth[35]. Famous kings are described as execeeding all beings in strength, outshining all in lustre (*tejas*), transcending all in majesty.

Kings are indeed said to protect the earth with the force of their two arms[36]. Various rulers are in fact called *dirghabahu* "of long arms"[37], *mahabahu* "of mighty arms, long armed"[38] or *vipulamso mahabahur mahoraskah* "broad-shouldered, long-armed, broad-chested" [39]. Remarkably enough the epithet *mahabahu* is also given to Visnu, the protector god par excellence, who is said to owe this title to the fact that he bears heaven and earth on his migty arms[40]. And to one of the epic heroes the words are attributed : "We have the disposal of the might of

rms (*bahubalinah*)"[41]) In this connection mention may be nade of the epithet *ksitibhrt* "who supports the earth' given to a king by the poet Bhartrhari[42]) An epithet of similar purport is *rastrab'irt* an adjective which, though often translated by bear ing sway', literally means "bearing, supporting, maintaining the kingdom", monarchs are called *rastrabhrt* a brahmana states "because they support the kingdom' The ruler is therefore the *parhiva* par excellence "He who relates to or possesses the earth"

The great poets like Kalidasa also describe the king as an extra ordinary man and destinct from his subjects[43]) attributing to him divine qualities and epithets Just like the poison of a snake, even if it is young, is deadly thus a king though a boy, is by his very nature able to protect the earth[44]) A ksatriya must always be strong, and on strength depends chastisement[45]) Being so important the ruler must always preserve himself[46]) The very happiness of a king consists in his protective function[47])

II

In so called primitive or semi primitive societies the belief is widespread that the welfare and prosperity of the community depend on harmony with the invisible powers The Indians shared with many other peoples the conviction that their ruler possessed supernatural power One of the most striking charac teristics of the Indian King is his role as a mediator He is intermediary between the powers of nature and society such he is an essential factor for the well being of the people In this respect the ancient Indian ruler was also a worthy col gue of the kings and chiefs of many other peoples "The pulse (furtherance) of that special power substance which m fests itself in vegetative life and increase of possessions (*Prasavah*) prevailed over all these words, in all direction, days of yore the king goes about knowing increasing the p and the well being (*pusti*, 'a well nourished cond amongst us' [49]) He is according to many descriptions epics and other documents the source and origin of all im events in the country. If the king is good, he is a ble

he is bad he is a disaster for his subjects. The sins of a king may even be the cause of the fall of the empire; drought, hunger, diseases. and battles will afflict the population[50]). "As is the king so is his people"[51]). A good king should strive always to add to the prosperity of his people, bringing about a state of plenty and affluence[52]). His first aim should be to seek his realm's happiness. Where the ideal king lives the people are prosperous, cheerful, healthy, pure in conduct, expert in works; there the sacrifices are performed and the clouds always pour waters[53]). Since there were indeed kings who behaved badly, it is not surprising to find many passages in which the king is a source of endless fear and adversity to his subjects. The king, thieves, robbers, fire, are all and sundry considered public calamities. The bad king's officers or favourites are put on a par with robbers and enemies. Snakes, enemies, robbers and the king, or the royal princes and concubines are said to oppress the people[54]).

Above all the sovereign is indeed responsible for rainfall[55]) and this not only through his fitness as a ruler, but also by his presence itself. "Indra, seeing that all the ksatriya sovereigns ruled their kingdoms very virtuously, poured down vivifying showers of rain at the proper time and at the proper place, and thus protected all creatures"[56]). Where there is no king rain will not fall[57]). If he sins, that is to say transgresses the dharma in any respect, be it 'ritual', 'moral', or otherwise or if his purohita ("chaplain") makes a mistake, rain can cease[58]). In times of drought the subjects approach the ruler for the much desired water[59]), Incidentally a text prescribes that a ruler should consider as the highest of his duties reclaiming land for cultivation and fertilizing it, and protection of his subjects[60]). Whatever the speculations in certain parts of the brahmanas may have meant to the general public, such identifications as *ksatra* (i.e. "power, dominion", the princely and military class as contrasted with the brahmans) is life" anyhow show that great importance was attached to rulership[61]).

On the other hand, living in the realm of a bad king leads to destruction[62]). There the cows will not yield milk, but kick

ver the milking-pails , the farmer will hurt himself when loughing In this light we may consider such wishes as are expressed in Vedic mantras "be this king dear to kine, herbs, cattle"[63]) as refarring to an aspect of ancient Indian kingship not generelly known nowadays In an old Atharvanic text intended to promote the restoration of a king who had lost his realm, Indra is besought to call back the royal man for the benefit of his subjects, Varuna for the waters, Soma for the mountains[64])

Thus it becomes clear that not only lordly power, but also the essence of nutritious food, the essence of water and useful plants, any refreshing draught, a well nourished condition, and generative power are expressly enumerated among the mani- festations of royal power *ksatrarupam tat*[65]) An illuminating illustration of the character of these manifestations of *ksatra* is also afforded by the inclusion of *sura* ' spirituous liquor'' among them[66]) Spirituous liquor—which was forbidden to brahmans[67]) is often said to help love , hence the custom[68]) to sprinkle a bride with it, so that her whole body is moistened with it , hence also the belief that drinking helps to stimulate the generative powers in nature[69]) In illustration of this belief connected with spirits attention may perhaps be drawn to the prohibitions with regard to hot and strong drinks in magic Among various peoples the avoidance of these liquids belongs to the special restrictions to be observed dy magicians and other potent persons In New South Wales it was believed that those who were supposed to have the power calling up spirits d d no drink any sort of liquid which would heat them internally Elsewhere medicine men are careful not to drink anything ho The avoidance of hot and fiery liquors would seem to explained by the conviction that the potent person is himself state of permanent 'hotness' which would be neutralized contact with anything possessing a greater heat[70]) The s or grade of 'hotness' of these drinks, though dangerou brahmans[71]), was apparently believed to be congenial to m bers of the ksatriya order

In all this we can see the Indian form of the wides

veneration for authority and of the more or less permanent association between authority and supernatural power in the popular mind. Kings as well as priests were associated with the regulation of the meterological processes and other natural forces.

It is therefore easily intellegible that the king's main duty, always emphasized by the authorities, consists in protecting his subjects[72]). That is the very reason of his existenee[73]), of his being created from particles of the eight *lokapalas* or divine protectors of the quarters of the universe. The duty of protecting mainly consists in meeting external aggression which involved fighting—the gods, when about to join battle with the asuras wanted Indra to be their chief for it ill becomes a people to wage war without a king[74]), and in punishing the guilty, which primarily meant administering justice ; besides the king has to save his subjects from calamities[75]). Should the king be remiss in this duty the creatures would perish[76]). Authors writing at a later period never tire of emphasizing the same points. King Yayati for instance is deseribed in the Vayu Purana as having pleased *(atarpayat)* the gods with sacrifices, the ancestors with Sraddhas, the poor with favour *(anugraha)*, the brahmans with what they desired, the guests with food and drink, the vaisyas with protection, the sudras with equity *(arrams-)* and the dasyus with due control *(sannigraha)*. Thus he gratified and entertained *(anuranjayat)* his people according to dharma as a second Indra himself. Hence also the explication of the term *rajarsi*- "a kingly *rsi*" i.e. "an inspired sage of kingly descent, a king who at the same time is an *rai*-" : he moves his subjects (unto there welfare ?) through their welfare[77]),

Since kingly potency is no personal capacity, all conceivable salvation is expected of it. Consequently, a ruler is often supposed to be able to heal. The power of the "king's touch"[78]) was also known : "at the touch of the king's hand, which was fragrant and auspicious, the old men regained his consciousness"[79]). Traditions are not wanting in which the people beseech their ruler to rescue them from every grief and misery, from all pains and diseases[80]). To quote a single instance of a successful reign : when Rama was king, the epic narrates[81]), no

dow mourned, neither beasts of prey nor diseases were to be ared, there were no enemies, the younger generation did not die before the older, all men were delighted and observed the dharma, the trees, always flowering, bore fruits without interruption, it rained when rain was desired, the wind was agreeable to the touch, everybody was content

III

The theorists emphasize that the king is only entitled to impose taxes because he affords protection[82]) The subjects like cattle should be tended and milked at the proper time[83]) A ruler who whilst taking taxes failed to protect the people was regarded as a thief, a *balisabhagataskara*[84]) The conduct of a monarch who, without guarding his people like a father his son collects taxes or accept presents of fruit, vegetables etc, whilst renouncing his duty, he would incur sin[86]) As one of the aims of gifts to men and to gods is that of buying peace[87]) it may be observed that the term *bali* used for ' tax" or "royal revenue" is also very often applied to any offering or propitiatory oblation to gods and semi divine beings, household divinities, spirit and various creatures including even lifeless objects[88]) Another word for tax, toll or customs, *sulka-*, under other circumstances denotes the so called marriage gift or bride-price, *sulka*, in my opinion[89]) is a transfer of property to which a mystic power is attached which establishes community, redresses a balance of power, or at least binds the recipient

Another term, used in Kautilya's Arthasastra, likewi characterizes the ideas formed at least by those who introduc its use, of the taxes due to the head of government "even t inhabitants of the forest throw down the sixth part of th gleanings" The verb *ni ab* used here should not make believe that they really threw the gleanings into the k treasury The word occurs to denote the offerings to an (birds) and to the deceased progenitors We may, with Mey suppose these offerings though intended for the king, to been eaten by the birds In this they share the actual o of other bali offerings designed to be the food of d vinities[91])

fts the monarch shows his vigour and prosperity[101]) On estive occasions intended to promote the general welfare, the king gave satisfaction to the poor and the misshapen with gifts of gold[10]") One of the titles conferred on the king in the Aitareyabrahmana is that of *bhoja*, a term which in the sense of "the liberal or bountiful" occurs in the Rgveda

Already at the earliest period of Indian history the royal position involved splendour and display of wealth and power[103]) The Maruts for instance are compared to 'kings of a brailliant appearance', the ruler is a rich man, he possesses clothes or ornaments resembling gold Already the Rgvedic king was marked out from his subjects by his retinue and his glittering apparel[104]) Such descriptions as are given by Kalidasa "he outshone all in power and transcended all in majesty (*tejas*)"[105]) are far from rare Because he is a bearer of majesty and a great deity in human form[106]), his position should be illustrious, his prosperity visible, his power evident Hence such epithets as *danapati*- "lord of liberality", i e a munificent man which in connection with *yajvan*- worshipper" and *sarvabhutahite ratah* "intent upon the well being of all creatures' were given to ancient sovereigns[107]) Making gifts, a discourse on the duties of noblemen[108]) says, is the greatest of virtues Of all kinds of gifts, the author continues, that of the body in battle is the highest

In primitive societies a wealthy and successful man a forcef and prosperous personality, soon becomes great and admired Alothough wealth among many peoples does not give power the sense of control over persons, the possession of wealth of confers prestige, honour, security, achievement and not seld it gives power too Wealth confers privileges, among American Kwakiutl the right to sing songs, perform da boast publicly, and insult others When used against an the point of these privileges is prestige, not factual power psychological mechanism behind this formulation of the s cance of wealth is not primarily aggression against a but the glorification of the self "[110]) It is the exist surplus, that is most significant in these societies Di

wealth is for the happy possessor often obligatory, demanded by prestige, a means of maintaining the ceremonial observances of the, community to which he belongs. The value of possessions partly lies in what might be called their ceremonial aspect, partly in the opportunity they give a person to be liberal. Honour and prestige may play an important role in the benefits bestowed upon gods and men. The rich man who shows his wealth by spending is the man who aims at prestige.

To sacrifice is explicitly called one of the king's duties[111]), "worshipper" being one of his well-known epithets. This feature is by no means contradictory to his quality of *deva-* ("god"), since the gods are likewise represented as offering sacrifices, the sacrifice being an indispensable means of gaining victory, possessions and other ends, and of maintaining the right order in the universe[112]). So sacrificing does not detract from the king's divinity, the less so as the gods according to the Satapathabrahmana[113]) are held to present the offerings to each other. It was typical of a wicked king[114]) to have offered the sacrifices intended for the gods, to himself. In this he imitated the asuras who sacrificed to themselves.

A special interest attaches to the prescriptions of dharmatexts in connection with *asauca*, "impurity", i.e. the absence of the power or privilege to perform religious acts. Manu expressly states[115]) that kings, like those engaged in performing long sacrifices and religious observances are not liable to *asauca-*, because the first occupy the position of Indra, and the last are ever pure like brahman. Purity and impurity, the same authority adds[116]), are caused and removed by the great gods, the lokapalas, by whose essence the king is pervaded. A ruler, seated on the throne of those characterized by greatness of personality is immediately purified, because he performs his royal duties of protecting the people and administering justice. From other authorities it appears that in this the king is put on a par with a brahmacarin, a sacrificer after being consecrated and other categories of persons filled with holiness or supranormal power[117]) The monarch is always pure lest his business be impeded[118]), at least, another authority[119]) adds, while he is

engaged in the discharge of his duty "The detrimental effect of impurity does not fall on kings, nor on those engaged in the performance of a vow or of a great sacrifice (sattra) for the first are seated on the throne of Indra, the last two are ever pure like brahman'[120]) "As fire is not polluted even though it always burns the creatures of the world (*prajas*), even so a king is not polluted by inflicting punishment on those who deserve it"[121])

The king takes, on the other hand on himself the sins committed by his people if he does not protect it well[122]) If in the country of such a monarch people die from want of protection, the sin of this affects the king himself Just as he may take a sixth part of the produce of the soil and of many other yields, including the spiritual merits of his subjects[123]), so the ruler who permits crime to go unpunished is burdened with a sixth[124]) of it[125]) Punishment frees him from responsibility, except for an unjust sentence[126]) Where a man worthy of condemnation is punished, the king is free from guilt, and the judges do not incur sin The king moreover had to make good from his treasury stolen property if it could not be recovered from the thief[127]) These ideas and prescriptions are typical of a functionary who is expected to keep things well balanced and to readjust the balance of the world The prescription that the king shall personally strike a thief with cudgel carried by the latter conveys the idea of a petty chief[128]) The king was also heir and performer of the ritual for the benefit of a deceased man who had no relatives left, and the ultimate protector of all women who have no relatives

A very interesting rule is handed down in Vasistha's dharma book[129]) All interest on loans ceases to accrue on the death of a king until the coronation of his successor According to Apte[130]) this usage probably was a recognition of the principle that the monarch represents the state, and all state regulations derive their power and authority from him alone This scholar is however forced to admit that we do not find the logical application of this principle in any other instance I for one would suggest seeking the explication in another direction.

Interest was, as the very term says "growth, increase" (*vrddhi*). Since the king is the mediator, through whom all growth on earth is made possible, his death must mean the cessation of growth[131]).

Notes and References

1. In Vedic times, the tribe was the political unit. The dharmasutra usually view the monarch as the ruler of a petty state ; see also V. M, Apte, *Social and religious life in the grhya-sutras, Bombay 1954*, p. 52 f.

2. Cf. JEAN LYON, *just half a word away*, N. York 1954, p. 253 : "peasants who (in 1951) had come as much to bask in the bright light of the (sometime) maharajah's presence as to hear him talk."

3. Cf. e.g. Mahabharata 13, 152, 16 ; Manu-smrti 9, 315 f ; Agnipurana 225, 16 ff.

4. Kamandakiya-nitisara 13, 23 f. the duties of a 'minister' (*amatya*) are described as follows ; taking care of income and expenditure, administration of justice, warding off enemies, prevention of and fight against calamities, inauguration of the king.

5. See the discussion in Kautilya's Arthasastra, 127.

6. Cf. also Manu-smrti 7, 54 ff. : "let him appoint seven or eight ministers, who are versed in the sciences, let him daily consider with them the affairs of state such as..." ; see also 7, 146 ff, I also refer to Bh. S. UPADHYAYA, *INDIA in Kalidasa, Allahabad* 1947, p. 120 ff.

7. Sukraniti, 2, 1-8.

8. For references see P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmasastra*, III, Poona 1946, p. 37 ff.

9. See Mbh. 3, 63, 79. The monarch was further designated by many titles, part of which were at the same time divine

attributes (isvara "lord , prabhu "thriving or mighty one '
etc)

Rgveda 3, 43, 5

Sukraniti, I, 81 f Ibidem I, 375 "his sovereignity is only for protection "

See e g Kalidasa, Sakuntala 7, 34

3. Manu 7, 35 , cf 36 , 88 , 142 ff , he should behave like a father , 7, 80

14 Mbh 12 91, 12

15 Sat Br 1, 3, 2, 15

16 Mbh 12, 64 27

17 Manu 2 32

18 Mbh 12, 29, 138 , 59, 126 , Brhadaranyaka upanisad 5, 13, 4

19 Mbh 3, 33 71 f Hence also the conclusion that the king has obtained his subjects by tapas Narada smrti 18, 25

20 Mbh 12, 64, 29 , 65, 2 etc , etc ,

21 Mbh 1, 49, 6 ff In other passages of the Mbh the king is also styled the incorporate god of norm, oright, and law. Cf HOPKINS *Journal Amer* Orient Soc 13, p 153

22 Mbh 12, 78, 41 f

23 Mbh 12, 68, 10 ff

24 Mbh 12, 77, 4

25 See e g Mbh 12, 59, 106 , 13, 70, 23 We would overstep the mark in considering this promise the equivalent of an oath of office or an oath of allegiance of a modern constitutional king

26 For this *Prjapalana* "protection of subjects" see e g Manu 9, 253 , 7, 144

27 See e g AV 9, 2, 7 , Taitta Br 1, 6, 4, 1

58. Cf. e. g. Mbh. 3, 110, 42 ff. ; discussed by H. LUDERS, *Philologica Indica*l, Cottingen 1940, p. i., ff.

59. See e. g. also Jataka 547 ; COWELL'S Translation, VI, 252.

60. Mbh. 12, 65, 2, Cf. also Rgveda 1, 73, 3 "all-nourishing... like a king."

61. Brh. ar. Up. 5, 13, 4—Sat. Br. 14, 8, 14, 4.

62. Mbh. 3, 1, 21.

63. See e. g. Atharvaveda 4, 22, 4. Cf. also 3, 4, 3.

64. Atharvaveda 3, 3, 3.

65. Aitareya-brahmana 8, 7, 10.

66. Ibidem 8, 8,5.

67. I refer to J. J. MEYER, *Das Wesen der altindischen Reachtsschriften*, Leipzig 1927, p. 25 f. ; 352 ; *Auch v. Welt-und Siaatsleben*, Leipzig 1926, p. 186 ; 718 f, ; Zus, 190, 24 See also Kamasutra 54, 3 ff.

68. Mentioned in Gobhila's G. S. 2, 1, 10.

69. I refer to MEYER, Trilogie II, p. 5 ; 102 f. ; III, p. 178.

70. See H. WEBSTER, *Magic*, Stanford Cal. 1948, p. 237 ff. For magic 'heat' see also M. ELIADE, *Le chamanisme*, Paris 1951, p 412 ff.

71. The main reason why brahmans should abstain from drinking ardent spirits was the fear that they would expose the Veda, of which they were the repositories, to profanation by reciting it out of season.

72. The term *ksatriya* "a member of the military or reigning class" was by way of 'popular etymology' explained as "who saves (*tra.*) from destruction, (*ksata*) : e. g. Mbh. 12, 29, 138.

73. Manu 7, 3.

74 Taitt Br 1, 5, 9, 1

75 In the smrti literature (dealing with dharma) the king or his officials were even supposed to make good losses in case they were not able to recover stolen property

76 Narada 18, 14

77 Vayu Pur 61, 87 *rsnti ranjanad yasmat praja rajarsyah smartah*, See MONIER WILLIAMS Dict s v rasi

78 Which until fairly recent times was regarded in England as a cure for scrofula G VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion*, *p 117*

79 Mbh 15, 3, 68

80 See e g MEYER, *Trilogie* II, p 124

81 Ram 6, 128, 97 ff

82 Cf e g Mbh 12, 69, 26 , 71, 10

83 Kamand NS 5, 84

84 See Mbh 1, 213, 6, ff, , 12 , 39, 100 , see also N, CH BANDYOPADHYAYA, *Development of Hindu polity and political theories I, Calcutta* 1927, p 280 ff

85 *adharmah sumehan* Ram, 3, 6 11

86 Manu 8, 307 See also e g Manu 9, 254

87 I refer to M MAUSS, *The Gift* (Engl Transl), London 1954, p 12 ff , p 58

88 I refer to E ARBMAN, Rudra, *Uppsala Univ Arsskrift* 1922, p 64 ff who for *bali* proposes the translation "Deponierungsopfer" It might perhaps be remembered that bali offerings are not seldom made in a place which is related to the recipient oblations to Parjanya, the waters, and earth are e g offered in a water-pot [illegible], (see A B KEITH, *Rel and Phil of Veda and Up*[illegible], Harvard 1925, p 213 f) So the price for protection was offered in the person of the king Attention may also be drawn to Kaut AS 9, 9 where the ascetics [illegible] words are said to throw down (*ni vap*, often [illegible] in connection with [illegible]) the sixth part of [illegible] bali oblation) the sixth part of [illegible]

no doubt actually consumed by birds and other animals; they belong to the one who protects them, i. e. the king.

89. I refer to my relevant paper in *Sarupa-bharati (1. Sarup Memorial Volume*, Hoshiarpur 1954) p. 223 ff.

90. MEYER, *Buch v. Welt und Staatsleben*, p. 26, n. 1 See also H. HOFFMAN, "*Die Begriffe fur. Konig" und. Herrschaft" im indischen Kulturkreis*". *Saeculum* 4 1953, p. 334 ff.

91. For an enumeration of divinities see A. HILLBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur (Grundrisz)*, p. 74 f.

92. See e.g. Taitt. Br. 1, 4, 9, 2. Many instances were collctcd by ARBMAN, *Rudra*, p. 67 f.

93. See e. g. Sat. Br. 13, 2, 9. 8.

94. I now would in many passages prefer this translation to that of "vital energy" which, beside other English terms was proposed in *Anc. Indian ojas*..., Utrecht 1952.

95. Atharvaveda 3, 4, 2; cf. 4.

96. Atharvaveda 3, 4, 7.

97. Atharvaveda 4, 8, 2 (*mitravardhana*)

98. For his duty to make gifts to learned brahmans etc., see KANE, o. c. LI, 2, p. 856 ff.; III, p. 44. See e. g. also Mbh. 3, 293, 2,

99. I refer to KANE o. c. III (Poona 1946) p. 28. The Nirukta (2, 3), however, derives *rajan* from *raj* "to shine"; cf. UPADHYAYA, o. c., p. 81; K. P. JAYASWAL, *Hindu Polity*. II, p. 3. For *ranjayati* see e. g. Mbh. 12, 59, 125. See also A. HILLEBRANDT, *Altindische Politik* Jena 1923, p. 9 ff.

100. Mbh. 3, 56, 44, *aranjayat praja viro dharmena pariplayan*, the very essence of the kingly functions. Similarly, Ram. I, 52, 7; Markandeya-purana 119 (116), I etc., Cf. also Vikramacarita 3 a (ed. Edgerton, p. 13) "he satisfied the requirements of the gods, the brahmans, the poor..; he gave complete protection to his subjects...won the hearts

etc", Kathasaritsagara 51 19, Bhagavat puran I, 12, 4 etc

101 See also N J SHENDE, *The foundations of the Atharvanic* religion Poona, p 185

102 See e g Vikramacarita, 16th story (EDGERTON, p 134) here the festival is in honour of the spring, and intended to make all seasons well disposed and to bring about prosperity to all people See also MEYER, *Trilogie* II, p 6 f

103 The reader might also be referred to H Zimmer, *Altindisches* Leben, Berlin 1879, p 167 ff

104 For details see the author's Aspects of early Visnuism, p 189 ff

105 Kalidasa Ragh, 1, 14

106 Manu 7, 8

107 See e g Mbh 3, 293, 1, 5, 119, 22

108 Mbh 12, 65, 3, cf 64, 27

109 See e g A GOLDENWEISER, Anthropology, New York 1946, p 152 ff R BENEDICT, *Patterns of culturse*, 7 New York 1950, p 174 ff

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110 F BOAS, *General anthropology*, New York, 1938, p 337

111 Ramayana 2, 113, 23, cf also Mbh 1, 74, 129, 178, 12, 3, 293 2 etc, The King is a *pujitapujako* 'a reverer of what is revered' (Milindapanha, p 226 T, where the force of the royal example is emphasized)

112 The gods also appled themselves to asceticism etc. They are repeatedly said to have obtained their position, including heaven, by these means See S LEVI, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les brahmanas*, Paris 1898, p 54 ff.

113 Satapatha-brahmana 5, 1, 1, 1 f

114. As e.g. the mythical Vena, see e.g. Visnu-purana 1, 13,14. This tradition may not be regarded (as was done by ALTEKAR, o. c.,p. 59 f.) as an argument in favour of the hypothesis that royal divinity in the proper sense of the term did not turn up before the period of Manu and other texts mentioning the story of Vena other incidents of a similar character.

115. Manu 5, 93 f. Cf. also Vasistha-dharmasastra 19, 48 and Visnu-dharma-sutra 22, 47 ff.

116. Manu 5, 97.

117. Particulars may be found in KANE, o. c. IV, p. 297 f.

118. Gautama-dharmasastra 14, 45.

119. Visnu-smrti 22 48.

120. Manu, 5, 93.

121. Narada 18, 8. cf. also st. 46 where all gains are stated to become pure in the hands of kings, just like gold becomes pure in fire.

122. See e.g. Mbh. 12, 24, 18 ff.: the king who does not protect his subjects, whose passions are not under control, who is full of self-conceit incurs sin. Cf. also Manu 8, 316 and parallel texts (see BUHLER, *Sacred Book of the East.* 25, p. 309); esp. Vasisthadharmastra 19, 46.

123. Manu 8, 304 etc.

124. Particulars are not always the same. See: MEYER, *Das altindische Buch vom Welt-und Staatsleben*, p. 678.

125. That the ruler was expected to protect the people in return for the taxes-his "wages"-is of course not a result of the "doctrine of social contract," as has been held by some modern authors (see e. g. PATIL, oc. p. 161).

126. For particulars HOPKINS, o. c. p. 131; cf. also Manu, 8, 18 f.

127. For particulars : P. V. KANE, History of *Dharmasastra...*, IV, Poona 1953, p. 74.

128. See Apastamba-dharmasutra I, 9, 25, 4, cf. Gautama 12, 43,

129 Vasistha-dharmasastra 2, 49 f

130 V. M APTE, in R C MAJUMDAR-A. D PUSALKER, *The Vedic age* p 485

131 Attention may also be drawn to the ancient Indian custom to pay as interest to the creditor the children of a female slave, or the young of animals, which were pawned, cf J J OEYER, *Uber das Wesen der altindoischen Rechtsschriften,* Leipzig 1927 p 132, 134 (see Narada I, 107, Yajnavalkpa 2, 39, 57) See also MEYER, o c. p 229 ff.

13

POLITICAL LIFE IN PRE-MOGHUL INDIA

It was while working as the Professor of Asian Civilisation in the Australian National University, Canberra that A. L. Basham finished in 1954, his "*The Wonder That was India : A Survey of the History and Culture of the Indian Sub Continent Before the Coming of the Muslims.* First published in 1954, a second edition of his book came out in 1963, and a third in 1966. The Indian reprint by Rupa & Co., in association with the Fontana Books appeared in 1971.

In ten long chapters, Basham makes a survey of the history and culture of India before the arrival of the Muslims. His areas of inquiry are : Pre-History in India (ch. II) ; ancient and medieval empires in India (Ch. III) ; the State : Political life and thought (Ch. IV) ; *Society : Class, family, and individual* (Ch. V) ; every day life (Ch. VI) ; Religion (Ch. VII) ; the Arts (Ch. VIII) ; and language and literature (Ch. IX). Having arranged the first chapter as a general introduction to his study, in the last chapter he makes an assessment on the impact of the west on the Indian Culture on the one hand, and of the world's debt to India on the other.

The selection included here is from Chapter IV, wherein the author discusses political life and thought in India before the arrival of the Muslims.

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From the days of Plato and Aristotle European thought has turned its attention to such questions as the origin of the state, the ideal form of government, and the basis of law, and politics has long been loooked on as a branch of philosophy. India also thought about such questions, but she had no schools of political philosophy in the Western sense. The problems which form the stock-in trade of the European political philosopher are answered in Indian texts, but in a take-it-or leave-it manner, with little discussion, often indeed the only argument in favour of a proposition is the citation of an old legend, used much as Plato's adaptations of older myths to reinforce his theories.

Though India had no formal political philosophy, the science of statecraft was much cultivated, and a number of important textbooks on this topic have survived. *Dandaniti*, the administration of force, or *rajaniti*, the conduct of kings, was a severely practical science and the texts cursorily discuss the more philosophical aspect of politics, but give comparatively detailed advice on the organization of the state and the conduct of governmental affairs. The later Vedic literature tells us something, incidentally, about political life and thought in the pre-Buddhist period, and we can gather much from the Pali scriptures of Buddhism, but the earliest and most important textbook specifically devoted to statecraft is the *Kautilya Arthasastra*, which is attributed to Kautilya, the famous minister of Chandra-

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* From A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India*, [illegible] Book [illegible] Association with Rupa & Co. (Delhi, [illegible]) pp. [illegible].

gupta Maurya (p. 51). Some authorities still maintain the full authenticity of the work, but there are grave objections to this view. The text refers to people and places (notably China) which do not seem to have been known to the Indians inthe 4th century B.C. It does not use much of the official terminology employed in the Asokan inscriptions or in the Pali scriptures, but it contains many governmental terms. Yet it is which apparently did not become popular until post-Mauryan times. certainly pre-Guptan, and is, we believe, the elaboration of a Mauryan original which was perhaps the work of Kautliya himself. Whatever its age, the *Arthasastra* gives very detailed instructions on the control of the state, the organization of the national economy, and the conduct of war, and it is a most precious source-book for many aspects of ancient Indian life.

The next important source, in chronological, order, is the great epic, the *Mahabharatha*, of which the twelfth book, known as the *Santi Parvan*, is a collection of many disparate passages on statecraft and human conduct, inserted into the body of the epic in the early centuries of the Christian era. Other passages on statecraft are found elsewhere in the *Mahabharta* and in the second of the great epics, the *Ramayana*. The large body of literature generally called *smriti*, giving instruction in the Sacred Law, is very important in this connexion, and will be discussed later (p. 113f) : especially significant is the seventh section of lawbook ascribed to the primeval sage Manu, probably composed early in the Christian era.

From the Gupta period and the Middle Ages a number of political texts survive, the most important of which are the *Nitixara* ("Essence of Politics") of Kamandaka, perhaps written during the Gupta period, and the *Nitivakyamrta* ("Nectar of Aphorisms on Politics") of Somadeva Suri, a Jaina writer of the 10th century.* These repeat much that has been said before,

* The Nitisastra of Sukra has now been shown with practical certainty to be a work of the early 19th century, perhaps written for the benefit of a Maratha prince subordinate to the East India Company (L. Gopal, BSOAS xxv, pp. 524-56). It is ignored in this book.

but here and there contain original ideas Besides sources specifically dealing with political life and thought, ancient Indian literature as a whole, from the *Rg Veda* onwards yields much information, and inscriptions of one kind and another are extremely valuable in this connexion

The texts do not discuss wholly impossible utopias; their advice is often pedantic, but usually more or less feasible However, it is not likely that any king conducted his affairs wholly on textbook lines, and there is ample evidence that the recommendations of the experts were not always put into effect The reader must always bear in mind that in the texts on state craft and Sacred Law the authors describe things not as they were in fact, but as they believed they ought to be Probably in no kingdom of ancient India, not even in that of the Mauryas, was the influence of the state quite so all pervading as in the system envisaged by the *Arthasastra*, though its author evidently based his precept upon current practice Similarly the vicious punishments laid down by Manu for religious crimes (for example a sudra who "Arrogantly teaches brahmans their duty" shall have boiling oil poured in his mouth and ears[1]) are the suggestions of a fanatic and were rarely if ever put into practice Moreover the texts are permeated with pedantry, and show the passion for sterile classification to which the Indian pandit has often been prone It is unlikely that themore energe tic and self reliant rulers worried overmuch about the *Arthasastr'a* discussion of different schools of thought on such questions as whether it is better to acquire a wild and rebellious but prosperous country, or a pacific but poor one Many errors have been made by historians through their uncritical acceptance of these political texts as giving an exact picture of things as they were.

KINGSHIP

The earliest legend about the origin of kingship occurs in the *Aitareya Brahmana*[2] one of the later Vedic texts, perhaps of the 8th or 7th century B C This tells how the gods and demons were at war, and the gods were suffering badly at the hands of

their enemies. So they met together and decided that they needed a *raja* to lead them in battle. They appointed Soma* as their king, and the tide soon turned in their favour. This legend suggests that in the earliest times kingship in India was thought to be based upon human need and military necessity, and that the king's first duty was to lead his subjects in war. A little later the *Taittiriya Upanisad*[3] repeats the story, but in a significantly altered form, the discomfited gods did not elect their ruler, but sacrificed to the high god Prajapati, who sent his son Indra to become their king. At this stage the king was still thought of as primarily a leader in war—"they who have no king, cannot fight" says the text—but king-ship was already given divine sanction and the king of the immortals, who was the prototype of all earthly kings, held his office by the appointment of the Most High.

Even at this time, before the days of the Budha, the king was exalted far above ordinary mortals through the magical power of the great royal sacrifies. The Royal Consecration (*rajasuya*) which in its full form copmrised a series of sacrifices lasting for over a year, imbued the king with divine power. In the course of the ceremonies he was identified with Indra "because he is a ksatriya and because he is a sacrificer"[4] and even with the high god *Prajapati himself.*[5] He took three steps on a tiger's skin, and was thus magically inentified with the god Visnu, whose three paces covered earth and heaven, The chief priest addressed the gods with *the words : "Of mighty power is he who has* been consecrated : now he has become one of yours ; you must protect him."[6] The king was evidently the fellow of the gods, if not a god himself.

The magical power which pervaded the king at his consecration was restored and strengthened in the course of his reign by further rites, such as the *Vajapeya,* in essence a sort of rejuvenation ceremony, and the horse-sacrifice (*asvamedha*, p. 43), which not only ministered to his ambition and arrogance, but

* Probably this is an early priestly emendation for Indra, who figures as king of the gods in other contexts.

also ensured the prosperity and fertility of the kingdom Implicit in the whole brahmanic ritual was the idea of the king's divine appointment, and though the *rajasuya* was replaced in later times by a simplified *abhisekha*, or anointment, the ceremony still had this magical flavour

But the centre of brahmanic culture was the Ganga Yamuna Doab If among the Kurus and Pancalas, who were the chief tribes of this region, the king was hedged about with divine mystery, elsewhere his status may have been less exalted, for the Buddhists had their own legend of the origin of kingship, which involved no heavenly prototype put looked back to a primitive social contract [7] The story of this is put into the mouth of the Buddha himself, and whether or not it is really his, it certainly represents the thought on the subject in the eastern part of India in the centuries following the Buddha's death, for the Jainas, who appeared at about the same time and in the same region, had a somewhat similar legend [8]

In the early days of the cosmic cycle mankind lived on an immaterial plane, dancing on air in a sort of fairyland, where there was no need of food or clothing, and no private property, family, government or laws Then gradually the process of cosmic decay began its work, and mankind became earthbound, and felt the need of food and shelter As men lost their primeval glory distinctions of class (*varna*) arose, and they entered into agreements one with another, accepting the institutions of private property and the family With this theft, murder, adultery, and other crime began, and so the people met together and decided to appoint one man from among them to maintain order in return for a share of the produce of their fields and herds He was called "the Great Chosen One" (*Mahasammata*), and he received the title of *raja* because he pleased the people The derivation of the word *raja* from the verb *ranjayati* (he pleases") is certainly a false one, but it was widely maintained and is found even in non-Buddhist sources

The story of the Mahasammata gives, in the form of a myth worthy of Plato, one of the world's earliest versions of the

widespread contractual theory of the state, which in Europe is specially connected with the names of Locke and Rousseau. It implies that the main purpose of government is to establish order, and that the king, as head of the government, is the first social servant, and ultimately dependent on the suffrage of his subjects. Thus in ancient Indian thought on the question of origin of monarchy two strands are evident, the mystical and the contractual, often rather incongruously combined.

In thought, if not in practice, it was the mystical theory of kingship which carried most weight with succeeding generations. The author of the *Arthasastra* had no illusions about the king's human nature, and seems to have had little time for mysticism, but he recognized that legends about the origin of kingship had propaganda value. In one place he advises that the king's agents should spread the story that, when anarchy prevailed at to the dawn of the aeon, men elected the mythical first king Manu Vaivasvata to kingship.[9] He thus encourages a contractual theory. In the same passage, however, he states that the people should be told that, as the king fulfils the functions of the gods Indra (the king of the gods) and Yama (the God of death) upon earth, all who slight him will be punished not only by the secular arm but also by heaven. When the king harangues his troops before battle he is advised to tell them that he is a paid servant just as they are;[10] but at the same time he is told to go to the length of having his secret agents disguised as gods, and allowing himself to be seen in their company, in order that his simpler subjects may believe that he mixes with the gods on equal terms.[11] Asoka and other Mauryan kings took the title "Beloved of the Gods" (*Devanampriya*), and, though they seem not to have claimed wholly divine status, they were no doubt looked on as superior semi-divine beings.

In the period of the later Vedas, though there is no evidence that a really large Indian kingdom existed at the time, the possibility of a realm reaching to the sea was recognized, perhaps as a result of what Indians had heard of Babylonia or Persia. With the Mauryas the possibility was realized, and, though they were soon almost forgotten, they left behind them

the concept of the Universal Emperor (*cakravartin*), which was incorporated into Buddhist tradition, and blended with later Vedic imperialist ideas, was taken over by orthodox Hinduism * just as Buddhas appear from time to time in the cosmic cycle, heralded by auspicious omens and endowed with favourale signs to lead all living beings along the road to enlightenment, so do Universal Emperors appear, to conquer all Jambudvipa and rule prosperously and righteously The concept of the Universal Emperor was also known to the Jainas and in the Epics numerous kings of legend, such as Yudhisthira and Rama, are said to have been *digvijayins*, conquerors of all the four quarters The Universal Emperor was a divinely ordained figure with a special place in the cosmic scheme, and as such was exalted to semi divine status The tradition was an inspiration to ambitious monarchs and in the Middle Ages some even claimed to be Universal Emperors themselves

The invasions of the Greeks, Sakas and Kusanas brought new influences from West and East Their kings, following the practice of the orientalized Seleucids and other rulers of the middle East, took the semi divine title *tratura*, equivalent to the Greek "*soter*" (saviour), they were not satisfied with the simple title of *raja*, which had served Asoka, but were "great kings" (*maharaja*) and "kings of kings" (*rajatiraja*) on the persian model The Kusanas, perhaps from the influence of China, where the emperor was the Son of Heaven, took the further title "Son of the Gods" (*daveputra*) Later, from Gupta times onwards, every important king would take some such title as "Great King of Kings, Supreme Lord" (*maharaja dhiraja paramabhattaraka*), while even the title maharaja was used only for small vassal kings

With these influences at work the doctrine of rayal divinity

* This interpretation of the data is open to question, but seems to me the most feasible explanation of the *Cakavattisihanada Sutta* (D N 3 58ff), prabably the oldest occurrence of the Cakravartin concept This text either inspired Asoka or was inspired by him and a very late character of the Sutta rather suggests the latter

was explicitly proclaimed. It appears first in the Epics and the Lawbook of Manu. The latter declares in dignified language :

> "When the world was without a king
> and dispersed in fear in all direction,
> the Lord created a king
> for the protection of all.
> "He made him of eternal particles
> Of Indra and the Wind,
> Yama, the Sun and Fire,
> Varuna, the Moon, and the Lord of Wealth.*
> "And, because he has been formed
> of fragments of all those gods,
> the king surpasses
> all other beings in splendour.
> "Even an infant king must not be despised,
> as though a mere mortal,
> for he is a great god
> in human form."[12]

To the ideal of the Universal Emperor was added the inspiration of such brahmanic ceremonies as the horse-sacrifice, which apparently fell into desuetude under the Mauryas, but was revived by the Sungas and was performed by many later kings both in north and south. Even comparatively feeble and petty monarchs managed to perform horse-sacrifices of some sort, and claimed the exalted status of the emperors of legend. After the time of the Guptas these sacrifices became rare, however, the last we have been able to trace took place in the Cola Empire in the 11th Century[13] but the tradition of royal divinity continued. Kings referred to their divine status in their titles and panegyrics, and they were regularly addressed by their courtiers as *deva*, or gods in the temples.

* The god Kubera (p. 316).

In the period between the Mauryas and Guptas anarchy frequently prevailed Mass lawlessness, riot, pillage and rape were widespread Raiding bands of invaders from the North West penetrated far into the heart of India and some brahmans even believed that the end of the aeon was drawing near and that the world would soon be destroyed It was then that an almost pathological dread of anarchy (*matsyanyaya* literally ' the way of the fishes', of whom the stronger eat the weaker) grew in the minds of Indian thinkers In the words of the *Ramayana*

> "Where the land is kingless the cloud,
> lighting wreathed
> and loud voiced, gives no rain to
> the earth
> "Where the land is kingless the son
> does not honour his father,
> nor the wife her husband
> "Where the land is kingless men do not
> meet in assemblies,
> nor make lovely gardens and temples
> "Where the land is kingless the rich
> are unprotected,
> and shepherds and peasants sleep with
> bolted doors,
> "A river without water, a forest
> without grass,
> A herd of cattle without a herdsman,
> is the land without a king '[14]

Passages such as this, which may be parelled in many sources, further assisted in strengthening the royal prestige, and it is in their light that we must read later legends on the of kingship

There is a very ancient story of a first man, Manu, who combined the characteristics of Adam and Noah in Hebrew tradition (p. 304). This story appears in many forms and versions, one of which found in the *Mahabharata*,[15] tells that at the beginning of this period of cosmic time, when greed and wrath had disturbed human relations, men inflicted untold misery upon one another. As in the Buddhist legend, they agreed to respect each other's life and property, but they had no confidence in their contracts, and so they approached the high god Brahma to help them ; he nominated Manu, here apparently thought of not as a man but a god, to be their first king. Some such legend as this was in the mind of the author of the Laws of Manu, when he composed the passage we have quoted. Variants of this story occur in other parts of the *Mahabharata* and elsewhere, some making the first king Virajas, the son of the god Visnu, and depicting him as imposed on mankind by the gods, without any suggestion of a contract or of human intervention of any kind.[16] All adapt the earlier legends to stress the divine status of the king, and his divine appointment to the kingly office. With the exception of a few Rajput families which claimed descent from the fire-god Agni, nearly all medieval Indian kings traced their genealogies back to Manu, either through his on *Iksvaku* or his daughter *Ila* ; descendants of *Iksvaku* are referred to as of the solar, and those of Ila as the lunar line.

Despite the growth of royal pretensions through the centuries the claims of the king did not go unchallenged, and in practice his divinity often made little difference to the body politic. Divinity was cheap in ancient India. Every brahman was in a sense a god, as were ascetics with a reputation for sanctity. Householders sponsoring and financing sacrifices were in theory raised to divinity, at least for the duration of the ceremony, while even sticks and stones might be alive with inferent godhead. Moreover the gods were fallible and capable of sin. If the king was a god on earth he was only one upon his subjects. The Buddhists and Jainas explicity denied the king's godhead, and one court poet at least, Bana, who was patronized by the great Harsa, had the temerity to reject the whole rigmarole of royal divinity as the work of sycophants who defuddled

the minds of weak and stupid monarchs, but did not fool the strong and the wise [17] The king was usually held in great awe and respect but it is doubtful if he was ever treated with quite the same abject servility as were, for instance, the more psychopathic Roman or Chinese emperors

Though the king was an autocrat, not limited by constitutional controls, there were many practical checks on his sovereignty The king s function was not conceived in terms of legislation, but of protection, and this involved the protection not only of his subjects from invasion, but also of the order of society the right way of life for all classes and ages (*Varnasramadharma*, p 138), as laid down in the sacred texts If he infringed sacred custom too blatantly he incurred the hostility of the brahmans, and often of the lower orders also In the most common of which was that of the legendary Vena This king apparently took his divinity too seriously, for he forbade all sacrifices except to himself, and confused society by enforcing interclass marriages The divine sages (*rsis*) remonstrated with him, but Vena continued in his evil courses At last the exasperated sages beset him a body and slew him with blades of sacred grass (*kusa*) which miraculously turned to spears in their hand This story, repeated in several sources, must have been a continual warning to the secularly-minded king who was tempted to flout the sacred Law No doubt many headstrong kings succeeded in breaking it with impunity, but the recognition of the moral justification of revolt against an impious king must always have acted as some check on his autocracy More than one great dynasty, such as the Nandas Mauryas and Sungas, fell as a result of brahmanic intrigue The *Mahabharata* explicitly sanctions revolt against a king who is oppressive or fails in his function or protection saying that such a ruler is no king at all, and should be killed like a mad dog [18]

The brahmans and the Sacred Law were not the only checks on the king All text books on statecraft recommend the king to listen to the the counsel of his ministers, who are advised to be fearless in debate, and more than one king was overthrown through the intrigues of his councillors Another and very

"The king's pious vow is readiness in action, his
sacrifice, the discharge of his duty

"In the happiness of his subjects lies the king's
happiness,
in the welfare of his subjects, his welfare.
The king's good is not that which pleases him,
but that which pleases his subjects.
"Therefore the king should be ever active, and
should strive for prosperity,
for prosperity depends on effort,
and failure on the reverse."[21]

Elsewhere the *Arthasastra* suggests a routine time-table for the king which allows him only four and a half hours' sleep and three hours for eating and recreation, the rest of the day being spent in state affairs of one kind or another. No doubt such a programme was rarely kept in practice, but it at least shows the ideal set before the king. Chandragupta Maurya is said by Megasthenes to have listened to the petitions of his subjects even while in the hands of his masseurs, while his grandson Asoka ordered that important business was to be set before him at all times, even when he was in his harem. In all sources the king is told that he must be prompt in the administration of justice and always accessible to his people. The swarms of guards, ushers, and other officials who surrounded the king's person must often have demanded bribes, and otherwise, have obstructed the access of the subject to his sovereign, but the best of Indian Kings at all times have made the public audience or darbar an important instrument of government.

Nearly all the foreign travellers who visited India during our period were much impressed by the pomp and luxury of the Indian king. Their impressions are confirmed by indigenous sources. The king's splendid palace was controlled by a chamberlain, who had a large staff of palace servants of both sexes ; the spiritual life of the court was cared for by the

chaplain or *purohita*, and many lesser brahmans, while numerous astrologers, physicians, poets, painters, musicians and learned men dwelt in the purlieus of the palace and enjoyed royal patronage An important figure in early days, though he is not referred to in the inscriptions of later times, was the *suta*, who combined the functions of royal charioteer, Herald and bard, and was often the friend and confidant of the king Another member of royal entourage was the *vidusaka*, known to us chiefly from the Sanskrit plays, who corresponded approximately to the Court jester of medieval Europe

Many kings were almost constantly on the move, touring their kingdoms with enormous trains of troops, courtiers, wives, concubines and servants On such tours business was combined with pleasure hunts were arranged and famous shrines visited, but also recalcitrant vassals were chastised and local grievances investigated Many inscriptions on stone and copper, from the days of Asoka onwards record the munificence of pious kings to religious foundations and brahmans while on such tours

Kings were expected to patronize art, letter and learning Like most men of the upper classes they were literate, and often devoted much of their leisure to hearing the recitations of their court poets Some were themselves competent writers, and numerous works ascribed to royal authors have survived. Samudra Gupta was a famous musician, and on some of his coins is depicted as playing the harp

Despite the injunction of the *Arthasastra* the king often found time for other less intellectual pursuits Hunting was usually among the chief of his pleasures, and though the doctrine of non injury discouraged it a tacit exception was made in the case of kings and nobles Kings are often referred to as gambling with their courtiers, and sometimes as indulging in drinking bouts, not only with the court but also in the privacy of the harem with the queens and concubines The textbooks reprobate all these amusements, which are reviewed in the *Arthasastra*, whose author quaintly quotes the opinions of various earlier authorities on their comparative perniciousness

The harem (*antahpurea*) was in charge of an official (*kancukin,*) usually not a eunuch as in many other ancient civilizations, but an elderly man, who is generally depicted in literature as a benevolent and fatherly friend both of the king and his ladies. From the plays and stories dealing with this aspect of palace life, the ladies of the harem, whether queens or concubines, seem to have been fairly well treated, though both they and the king often went in some fear of the chief queen (*mahisi*) whose power in the harem was very great and was often wielded rather harshly over the lesser queens and concubines.

Ideally a royal family was of the ksatriya or warrior class but in practice this was often not the case, The Sungas and Kanvas were brahmans, as were several other Indian dynasties; the family of Harsa is said by Hsuan Tsang to have been of the vaisya, or mercantile class; while the Nandas, and perhaps even the Mauryas, sprang from the despised sudra. In practice the aphorism "whoever rules is a ksatriya" was applied, and after a few generations kingly families from the lower orders were quielty assimilated into the martial class.

Kingship was normally reserved for male, though a few small Orissan ruling families in the Middle ages seem regularly to have permitted a daughter to inherit the throne. Didda, the wicked 10th century queen of Kashmir, managed to retain control of the state by acting as regent for her sons, and putting them to death one after the other before they reached their majorities. The benevolent queen of the Kakatiyas of Warangal, Rudramma (c. 1259-1288), governed by a legal fiction, drafting her state documents in the masculine gender. Queens did, however, act as regents during their sons' minorities, as in the case of Didda and Prabhavati Gupta (p. 66), and royal ladies sometimes wielded much power in the state. Thus Rajyasri, widow of Grahavarman the last Maukhari king of Kanyakubja, regularly took a seat of honour beside her brother Harsa, and shared in state deliberations. Women in politics were often to be found in the medieval kingdons of the Peninsula; for instance Akkadevi, sister of the Calukya king Jayasimha II (1015-1042), was a provincial governor, and Kundavai, the elder sister

of the great Cola Rajaraja I, seems to have played a role similar to that of Rajyasri Women even sometimes took part in war Akkadevi fought battles and superintended sieges, while Umadevi, queen of the Hoysala king Viraballana II (1173 1220), led two campaigns against recalcitrant vassals

Succession was normally by primogeniture but exceptions might often occur, for the Sacred Law did not allow a diseased, maimed or seriously infirm prince to ascend the throne, and the line could not pass through such a prince Thus in the *Mahabharata* legend (p 410) the Pandava princes were quite within their rights in claiming the throne from the blind Dhrtarastra Moral perversity might also exclude a prince from succession A wicked son, though an only one," says the *Arthasastra* should never ascend the throne"[21] Kings sometimes nominated their Successors, overriding the claims of their eldest sons if these were given to evil courses Thus Samudra Gupta was nominated by his father Candra Gupta I, against other claimants, at a great darbar, after which the old king apparently abdicated , and similar instances can be found. The absence of a strict rule of primogeniture was the cause of dynastic disputes, and hence undoubtedly led to the weakening of empires

Princes were trained with great care, and the heir to the throne (*yuvaraja*) was often associated with his father in government This custom was widespread, and was especially strong with the invaders from the North West and with the Colass, whose crown princes issued charters in their own names and acted independently of their fathers while the latter were still on the throne The Sakas and Pahlavas often inscribed the name of the ruling king on the obverse of their coins, while that of the sub king was given on the reverse

Princes might be a great source of danger to their parents According to a Budhist tradition Magadha was ruled from Ajatasastru onwards by five patricides in succession, which suggests that at the time this region of India followed the wide spread primitive custom of putting the king to death when his vital powers failed, a practice of which the ritual nature was not

remembered by succeeding generations. Kings are warned against the intrigues both of sons and wives, "for princes, like crabs, eat their own parents".[23] The activities of the princes should be strictly controlled, and they should be constantly spied upon, to ensure that they would not revolt against their fathers.

The prince's impatience to acquire his patrimony was often gratified by the voluntary abdication of an elderly king-a practice approved by precept and tradition. Examples of such abdication may be found at all times and in all parts of India. Sometimes the abdication was followed by religious suicide. Several kings, the most notable being Chandragupta Maurya, are said to have resigned their thrones and slowly starved themselves to death under the influence of Jainism. Others passed straight to heaven by drowning in a sacred river. Of such kings the most famous was the Calukya Someswara I (c. 1042-1068), who when his powers began to fail, waded into the holy Tungabhadra and drowned himself to the sound of religious music, while his courtiers lined the banks. In some of the medieval principalities of Kerala the ritual suicide of the king became a regular institution.

Other systems of inheritance prevailed in a few cases. Thus the throne of the Saka satraps of Ujjayini passed not to the king's son but to his younger brother inherit. There are indications that brother-to-brother succession was not wholly unknown elsewhere in India, and it was almost regularly followed in Ceylon. This system prevailed in China under the Shang dynasty (c.1500-1100 B. C.), and was also followed by many Central Asian tribes it is still known in East Africa.

In the early days of the Cera kingdom of Kerala inheritance was through the male line, but about the 12th century a matrilinear system became regular, according to which the heir to the throne was the son not of the king, but of his eldest sister. This system, called *Marumakkattayam.* continued in Cochin and Travancore until very recent times, both for royal succession and the inheritance of estates. Perhaps it existed in Kerala at an early period, but was dropped by the upper classes for a while under brahmanical influence to be revived in the course of

centuries Other traces of matrilinear succession can be found in ancient India, notably in the very common use of metronymics in royal titles but it was not regularly followed in any important kingdoms

If the king dies with no heir to the throne much power was wielded by the magnates of che realm, for the courtiers nobles, ministers, religious leaders and wealthy merchants would sometimes meet together and choose a king Thus the nobles of Kanyakubja invited Harsa to assume the throne when Graha varman died childless Gopala, the founder of the Pala line of Bengal and Bihar, was chosen as king by the great men of the land A further example is the appointment of the boy Nandivarman (735 797) as the Pallava king of Kanci by an assembly of nobles and ministers The Kashmir Chronicle provides other instances

QUASI FEUDALISM

Authorities differ on the definition of a feudal system Some would confine the term to a complex structure of contractual relations covering the whole of society from king to villein, such as that which prevailed in medieval Europe Others use the term so loosely that they apply it to any system where political power is chiefly in the hands of landowners Most non Marxist historians would prefer the narrower definition, according to which ancient India never had a true feudal system Something very like European feudalism did evolve among the Rajputs after the Muslim invasions, but this is outside our period Ancient India had, however, a system of over lordship which was quasi-feudal, though it was never as fully developed as in Europe and it rested on a different basis

In the later Vedic period there were already lesser chiefs tributary to the greater Terms in these texts like *dhiraja* and *samrat*, often loosely translated "emperor", seem actually to imply lordship over a number of feudatories Magadhan imperialism aimed at a centralized realm, though even in Mauryan times vassal chiefs existed in the more remote regions of the empire These vassals had vassals of their own in pet

local chieftains calling themselves rajas. Indian system differed from that of Europe in that the relations of overlord and vassal were not regularly based on contract, whether theoretical or otherwise, and ancient India had nothing quite comparable to the European manor, though institutions of a somewhat similar type were beginning to develop at the very end of our period.

When decisively defeated in battle a king might render homage to his conqueror and retain his throne. Thus vassals usually became so by conquest rather than by contract, though the *Arthasastra* advises a weak king to render voluntary homage if necessary to a stronger neighbour, This state of affairs was supported by the Epics and Smrit literature, which discouraged outright conquest. "Lawful conquest" (*dharmavijaya*) did not involve the absorption of the conquered kingdom, but merely its reduction to vassal status. Though many later kings, such Samudra Gupta, ignored the Sacred Law and incorporated conquered kingdoms into their empires, custom was against this practice.

The amount of control exercised by the overlord varied greatly. Ideally the vassal was expected to pay regular tribute to his emperor, and to assist him with troops and funds in war. He attended the overlord's court on ceremonial occasions, and the panegyrics of powerful medieval kings regularly mention the jewels of many splendid turbas glittering like the waves of the sea, as the vassals bow before their lord. In his charters the vassal was expected to mention the name and title of his overlord before his own. In some cases a resident representative of the overlord was stationed at the vassal's capital. The vassal's sons might be educated with the princes of his master, and serve as pages, and his daughters might be demanded for the imperial harem. Often a vassal acted as a minister of his suzerain, or a minister of favourite might be set up as a vassal king by his master. Hence in the medieval period the status of minister often merged with that of vassal, and the provincial governer, holding office at the king's pleasure, tended to become a feudatory king or chief in his own right.

The great vassal (*mahasamanta*) was always very powerful, and had his own administration and army Among the many threats to the security of a king the revolting vassal was one of the most dangerous The history of the Western Deccan offers typical examples Here from the 6th century onwards, the Claukya dynasty held sway , a vassal, Dantidurga Rastrakuta, overthrew it and established his own dynasty about 753, and the Calukyas were reduced to insignificant vassalage , but some 200 years later they profited by the weakness of Rastrakutas to regain the hegemony, which they maintained until the end of the 12th Century, when their vassals, the Yadavas, Kakatiyas and Hoysalas, shared their domains between them

In fact the suzerain's hand weighed very lightly on the more powerful and remoter tributaries and many claims to homage and tribute and amounted to very little Samudra Gupta, for instance, even claimed the king of Ceylon, Sri Meghavarna, as his vassal , but it is clear from a reliable Chinese source that the claim was based merely on the reception of a Sinhalese mission bearing gifts and requesting Permission to erect a Buddhist monastery at the sacred site of Gaya

The lesser chiefs, on the other hand, had little more power than the lords of the manor in medieval Europe, though they claimed the proud title of *raja* In this connection an interesting story is told in an inscription at Dudhpani, in S Bihar, dating from the 8th century A D

Three merchant brothers were returning from the port of Tamalipti to their home in Ayodhya with a caravan of merchandies and provisions, and rested for the night at a village called Bhramarasalmali Meanwhile the local king, Adisimha, passed by on a hunting expedition, with a large train of followers, and, as was the custom, he demanded food and fodder of the villagers But they were suffering from a temporary shortage, and could scarcely meet this demand So they sent a deputation to the merchants who at their request gave the king provisions from their own stock The king found the companionship of the eldest brother, Udayamana, very agreeable, and so he and his brothers became members of Adisimha's court

One day Udayamana revisited the village of Bhramarasalmali, and the villagers' remembering his former kindness, asked him to become their king. King Adisimha approved the request, and so the merchant Udayamana became raja of Bhramarasalmali, while his brothers were made kings of adjoining villages.[24]

This little story illustrates another means whereby quasi-feudal relations arose. After the Mauryan period it became usual for kings to pay their officers and favourites not with cash, but with the right to collect revenue from a village or a group of villages. Such a right often carried other privileges, and usually made the recipient the intermediary between king and taxpayer. It greatly encouraged the tendency towards devolution, instability, and inter-state anarchy.

OLIGARCHIES AND REPUBLICS

Though monarchy was usual in ancient India, tribal states also existed which were governed by oligarchies. The term "republic" is often used for these bodies and, though it has been criticized by some authorities, it is quite legitimate if it is remembered that the *ganas*, or tribes, were not governed like the Republic of India by an assembly elected by universal suffrage. The Roman Republic was not a democracy, but it was a republic nevertheless, and the evidence shows that in some of these ancient Indian republican communities a large number of persons had some say in the government.

Vedic literature gives faint indications of such tribes at a very early date (p. 34), and the Buddhist scriptures recognize the existence of many republics, chiefly in the foothills of the Himalayas and in N. Bihar. These were mostly tributary to the greater kingdoms, but exercised internal autonomy. One such people was the tribe of the Sakyas, who dwelt on the borders of modern Nepal, and to whom the Buddha himself belonged. Though in later legend the Buddha's father, Suddhodhana, is depicted as a mighty king living in great pomp, he was in fact a tribal chief, depending on the support of a large assembly of householders, who gathered regularly to discuss tribal politics in a meeting hall (in Pali, *Santhagara*).

The most powerful non monarchial state at this time was the Vrjjian confederacy, of which the chief element was the tribe of the Lichavis and which long resisted the great Ajatasatru According to a rather dubious Buddhist tradition the Licchavis had no less than 7707 rajas a term which must have covered all the heads of families of the tribe who were eligible to take part in the tribal assembly Jaina sources tell of an inner council of thirty six tribal chieftains controlling the affairs of the Licchavis Mallas and allied tribes in their war with Ajatasatru The whole confederation had a raja in chief and executive head who, like the raja of the Sakyas, seems to have held office for life and often to have passed on his position to his heir

It has been reasonably suggested that the organization of the Buddhist, clergy, which is said to have been laid down by the Buddha himself, is modelled on the constitution of one of these republican tribes, perhaps the Sakyas Buddhist monastic affairs were managed by a general meeting of the monks, with a regular system of procedure and standing orders not very different from that of the business meeting of a present day society The Buddhist chapter differed from the modern committee, however in that decisions normally needed the unanimous consent of the assembled monks Differences which could not be settled were referred to a committee of elders

In the Buddha s day the free tribes were standing up with difficulty to the internal pressure of changing social and economic conditions and to the external pressure of the rising kingdoms of Eastern India We have seen that both the Sakyas and the Vrjjis were conquered at about the time of the Buddha s death, the former never to rise again (p 47) The Buddha himself, though a friend of kings, seems to have had a deep affection for the old republican organization, and in a remarkable passage he is said to have warned the Vrjjis shortly before his death that their security depended on maintaining their traditions and hold ing regular and well attended folk moots

Western India did not feel the force of imperialism as strongly as the east, and here republican tribes survived for much longer

Several such peoples are mentioned in the classical accounts of Alexander's invasion, and the *Arthsąsatra* devotes a whole chapter to the means whereby such tribes may be reduced to vassalage by an ambitious king-the main method being to sow dissension between the leading tribesmen so that the tribal assembly loses its unanimity and the tribe is divided against itself. Such a procedure, according to a Buddhist legend, was employed by Ajatasatru's wily minister Varsakara to weaken the Vrjjis before invasion. The *Arthasastra* probably refers ironically to the martial arrogance and practical ineptitue of republics when it states that the members of seven named tribes "make a living by their title of raja."[25]

The *Mahabharata* takes full cognisance of the existence of republican tribes in Western India, and their survival until the 5th century. A.D. is attested by numerous coins and a few inscriptions. Perhaps the most important western republic was that of the Yaudheyas in Northern Rajasthan, which issued numerous coins, bearing the inscription, Victory to the Yaudheya tribe"; one of their official seals has been found, with the proud legend, "Of the Yaudheyas, who posses the magic spell of victory"; and one fragmentary Yaudheya inścription survives. This mentions the chief of the tribe, whose name has unfortunately been worn away by the weathering of the stone, he has the regal title of maharaja, but he is also called *mahasenapati*, or general-in chief, and he is "placed at the head of the Yaudheya people".[26]

The Malava tribe may be the same as the Malloi described by Greek historians as living in Punjab at the time of Alexander. If so, the tribe moved south during the centuries, for its coins are found in Rajasthan, and it gave its name to Malwa, the region around Ujjayini, north of the Narmada. Some brief 3rd-century inscriptions at Nandsa in Rajasthan refer to the Malava Srisoma, who "supported the ancestral yoke of of government", and whose position was therefore hereditary.[27] It is probable that the Malavas founded the era later known as the Era of Vikrama, for several early inscriptions refer to this as "the Era handed down by the Malava tribe".

Most of these western tribes became tributary to the Guptas after Samudra Gupta's great conquests in the 4th century (p 64) After this we hear little more of them, and they probably vanished as a result of the Huna invasions We know scarcely anything about their organization, which may have been loosely feudal, with a large number of petty chieftains more or less subordinate to a single head, who held office with their consent and could do little without their help In any case modern India may take legitimate pride in the fact that, though she may not have had democracies in the modern sense, government by discussion was by no means unknown in her ancient civilization

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THE EMPEROR AND HIS COURT

Frederick Christian Charles Augustus, Prince of Schleswig Holstein—Snoderburg Augustenburg, was born on November, 16, 1813 at Schleswig When thirty six, he made his first visit to London in 1849, and was inspired with an ambition to pursue his studies there As a result, on August 2, 1852, he got himself admitted at the Trinity College, Cambridge Having stayed at Cambridge for about eighteen months he moved with his family to Paris in 1854, and the next year to Germany where his mother was on her death bed Following his wife s untimely death in 1858, Frederick Augustus went back to England and then in 1864 started his touring to India Having spent the early part of 1865 in Madras in South India, he went back to England to take up studies in Sanskrit, and again came back to India for a longer stay from 1867 to 1869 Augustus spent the fag end of his life collecting data about Emperor Akbar and when he died in 1881, left behind him a well documented manuscript on ' The Emperor Akbar A contribution towards the History of India in the 16th Century", neatly written in German The selection included here is from the translation by Annettee S Beveridge

THE EMPEROR AND HIS COURT

(*Frederik Augustus*)

I RELIGIOUS INTERESTS

Discussion with the Jesuit Father Fernando Guerreiro, S.J.

The first thing which, as the statement of a man who saw Akbar face to face and spoke with him, should claim attention, is the conclusion of the fifth chapter of the Portuguese narrative of Father Fernando Guerreiro, S. J.* which records a discussion on the divinity of Christ and gives a clear image of the life and doings in the Ibadat Khanth. Akbar's splendid debating hall was in Fathpur Sikri but the practice of religious discussion followed him to Lahor. Thither on 5th May 1595 came Father Fernando and here as in Fathpur Sikri the cool quiet of night served for discussion. In the first place, the Father explained why Christians revered Christ crucified. He ended with tact and correct appreciation of his audience by saying that no material thing that is the painted paper was the object of reverence but the representation thereon of the person of Christ, our Lord and God ; just as when Akbar's subjects laid his farmans upon their heads they shewed reverence to the expression of his

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* Relacam annal das covsas qe ficeramos padres da Companhia de Jesus, nas partes da India oriedtal**tirado** ot ordedado pello Padre Ferano Guerrieeo etc. Em Lisboa (Pedro Crasbeeck). Anno MDC XI Cap. v. fol. 11. v-13 v.

* It would appear that Dr. v. Buchwald has fallen into an error here. Father Fernando da Guerriero seems to have simply compiled the Book just referred to. (Relacam annal etc.) The Fathers who went to Lahor in 1995 were Jerome Xavier, Pignero and Benois de Gois. See Catrou, p. 127 et seq and Akbar Vol. 1, Trs.

will To this the Emperor listened calmly and approvingly, agreeing that it was all reasonable The Father was too wise and too sure of his aim to compare Akbar with Christ but he had the adroitness to draw a parallel between them His satisfaction at the success of his artistic handling is to be read unmistakeably between his lines When however, following the Father's wish the conversation passed to the subject of Christ's divinity, it became manifest that he had miscalculated, So long as the parallel between Christ and Akbar was maintained, the Emperor showed calm quietacao—but when the doctrine of the Incarnation was touched on, he interposed that Christians named Christ God, only in testimony of their love and he shewed so much warmth feruor that the Father could say no more The narrative mentions far of tener Akbar s manner of speaking than what he said If he pacified the priests by acquescing words, *these indicate little more than that he paid one of the civilities* which were the charm of his circle, or at most that he took up a position opposed to whatever Sunnis might be present That he spoke with well weighed calculation is shewn at the conclusion of the debate when he surpassed the Jesuit in the dialectic art of drawing parallels As the Father had begun by raising Christ through a parallel to the Emperor's level before raising him higher in accordance with the teaching of his church, so and without withdrawing his former concurrence, Akbar deposed him The Emperor expressed the opinion that Christians, being bred in the love of Christ, therefore called him God and that this need cause no surprise for in India the people took for holy a dervish who intoxicated himself with bang Was it a matter of wonder that those who saw Christ reanimate the dead should take him for a God ?

That Jesus could be a virgin's son, the Emperor believed as firmly as that worms issue spontaneously from putrifying flesh Undoubtedly that which withheld him from Christianity was on one hand, the form in which it was presented to him and on the other the fact that his conception of deity was inspired by Cufism

There was about the Jesuits that which would attract and

something also which would repel Akbar. Their devotion, disinterestedness and eminent culture were without influence on none-excepting indeed Badaoni and least of all on Akbar and Abul Fazl. The strictly ecclesiastical organization which is the logical outcome of the doctrine of Papal succession would as undoubtedly repel. Akbar and the Papacy were incompatible. He at once recognized that an admission of the specifically Christian doctrine of the Incarnation involved submission in matters of faith to the infallible successors of Christ at Rome. To this he could not assent, hence the warmth (feruor) of the debate. The evil he himself had to combat was one of antagonism between two religious corporations the Muhammadan and Hindu—and this antagonism would have been increased by concession of power to the Jesuits. His motto was toleration for all agenerous sentiment which was not prevalent in Christendom in those 16th and 17th centuries when the witches' hammer brought hundreds and thousands to death.

Recreation, Reading and Discussion.

After sunset came recreation which, at least in the Emperor's mature years, often took the form of reading aloud and discussion. At one time, Abul Fazl read the New Testament and perhaps Abdurrahim read his Persian rendering of Babar's grandson. The 34th Ain gives a list of works which were read and re-read to the Emperor in their Persian original and there were doubtless added to these, those translations from Hindi, Greek and Sanscrit which were made for the Royal Library. It is not certain whether all the translations from the Sanscrit were made direct or through the Hindi or by both methods. The Mahabharata was, at least so far as Badaoni's share of it, taken from the Hindi. The following passage, compiled for the most part from Professor Blochmann's extracts from Badaoni, shows something of the mode of translation and utters the indignat discontent of the author at being-in conjunction with other Muhammadans—selected for the task of rendering the Mahabharata into Persian. He had translated the At 'harban and subsequently gave to the Ramayan a Persian garb. He records that Akbar became much interested in the translation of Hindu

works Having commanded some brahmans to expound the Mahabharata, he devoted two nights himself to explaining the meaning—presumably from the Hindi recital of the brahmans—to Naquib Khan who was then to give the gist in Persian It was on the third night that Badaoni was ordered to assist Naquib Khan After three or four months two of the 18 chapters of the "useless absurdities, enough to confound 18 worlds "were laid before the Emperor He took exception to Badaoni's rendering and called him an eater of fordidden to food—(haramkhur)—and a turnip eater Another part was subsequently finished by Naquib Khan and his collaboraters while Faizi who translated also Lilawati, wrote two chapters, prose and poetry Of Sultan Haji of T' haneswar's translation, Badaoni remarks that it was so exactly rendered as to reproduce even fly marks The Haji was lather dismissed from Court but other translators and interpreters "continued the fight between the Pandus and 'Kurus May God Almighty protect those that are "not engaged in this work" ejaculates Baodaoni, referring to himself and others who may have desisted from the heterodox labour at the same time, implying that those who persist in it are past salvation To the Persian version of the great Hindu epic was given the title of the Book of Wars (Razmnamah), it was illuminated, Abul Fazal wrote a preface, one copy was made and the grandees were ordered to make others * The narrow hearted Badaoni did not understand that ideas and refreshment could be drawn from bye gone times and with all his erudition stood on a far lower level than the unlettered Akbar.

Although himself unable to read or write, the Emperor collected an extensive library which was kept partly within and partly without the harem Each portion was subdivided according to the value of the books and the estimation in which they

* For curious variations in text or translation of Badaoni on this topic, it is worth while to compare Blochmann, 105 n Lowe, 330, and Rehatsek, 92 In the above Blochmann has been selected as authority Trs

subjects were held. Works in prose and poetry, in Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmiri and Arabic were placed separately. They were also inspected in this order—a fact of meaning. Akbar's conversational tongue stands between Hindia and Greek and this arrangement marks his religio-philosophic bias. The motive which placed Hindi first in rank is the complement of that which placed Arabic last.

III Attending the Court

When in the early morning, drums and trumpets announced that the Emperor had entered the audience hall, the grandees proceeded to pay their respects and other persons to transact business. He sat cross-legged-chaharzanu-upon the throne, a position of comfort says Professor Blochamann allowed by orientals to persons of rank. On days of high festival a throne was used made of sandal wood and decorated with ivory. On such days too, perhaps as well as at the accession ceremony, the cushions would be overlaid with goat skins. There were strict regulations as to the distance at which the princes, grandees others placed themselves from the throne. Abul Fazl tells us however that the Emperor affectionately brought the yonger children nearer to him than was dictated by etiquette. The "elect of" the highest rank who are worthy of the spiritual "guidance of his Majesty"—presumably the disciples of the Din i Ilahi, were allowed places nearer to the person than were even senior grandees. Close to the Emperor stood his saibanis or umbrella holders and attendants who fanned him and some of whom called out the names of those to whom he wished to speak. A person so summoned stepped forward and made either the taslim or the kornish. The first was a salutation which consisted in placing the back of the right hand on the ground and then raising it slowly till the saluter stood erect when he placed the palm on the crown of the head. The signification of this would be clear even without Abul Fazl's explanation that it symbolized readiness to give oneself as an offering. Three taslims were made on taking leave, on presentation, on receiving a mancab, a jagir a dress of honour, an elephant or a horse. The kornish was made by placing the bowed head in the palm of the hand, This signified that the head, the seat of mind and

the senses, was placed in the hand of humility The origin of the fashion of laying the hand on the head in both salutations is told by Akbar himself When he was a child, his father made him a present of one of his own caps The child, when stooping to bow in acknowledgement of the gift found the cap rather large and laid his hand on it, thus making the initial kornish, Humayun liked the new fashion which his little son has suggested and ordered it to be adopted as a part of both kornish and taslim *

* Blochmann 158

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT DURING THE BRITISH RULE

The Rural Urban Relationship Committee was constituted in April, 1963 under the order of the ministry of Health in pursuance of a Resolution passed in 1962 by the Central Council of Local Self-Government and by the Conference of State Ministers for town and Country Planning.

The terms of Reference for the Committee were the following : (a) determination of criteria for the demarcation of urban and rural areas ; (b) making recommendations regarding the relationship between the urban local bodies and the panchayatiraj institutions ; (c) defining the structure and functions of the urban local bodies ; (d) making recommendations about the lines on which the urban Community Development work may be undertaken in municipal areas ; and (e) making recommendations for the more efficient functioning of urban local bodies generally.

Although the Committee was required to submit its Report within six months of its appointment, the Report actually took three years to come out. In preparation for the Report, the Committee employed various methods of study : such as issuing a questionaire, collection of factual data from urban local bodies as well as State-Governments, discussions with experts in public administration, University professors, ministers and officers of some state Government and finally case studies in a few select-

ed towns. After three years of study, the Committee submitted its well documented and elaborate Report in three volumes, in 1966 The selection included here is from volume I, Chapter Two, dealing with the historical development of local self-government in India.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT DURING THE BRITISH RULE.

(From *Report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee*, Government of India : Ministry of Health & Family Planning,)

New Delhi : 1966 ; Vol. I. pp. 6-11

2.02 *Evolutian of local government during British period*—Representative urban local government in India owes its origin to the exigencies and requirements of the British rule. The two dominate considerations that led the British to establish local government institutions in India were the administrative problems due to the large size of country and the paucity of finances of the Imperial power. The earliest steps towards the setting up of the local authorities in urban areas were motivated by the need of mobilising local fiscal resources for roads, public works, education, health and the like, which were regarded as matters concerning the local people. Both before and after the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown, it was felt that it would be easier to collect taxes if local people were associated in some manner with the local administration.

2.03 It is in this context that the urban local government, as we know it, developed. The central power could not effectively look after the local affairs and hence decided to have some sort of local agencies, not only for raising funds to meet the expenses of the police, conservancy and road repairs, but also to perform these functions locally. The local institutions were set up in the

towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras by the Charter Act of 1973 They were more or less official bodies Till 1858, the local government institutions in the urban areas did not make much progress and they were confined to 20 towns including the cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras Municipal bodies during this period were created on the lines of the English Boroughs They functioned as Courts of Record for civic and criminal cases with Englishmen as Town Clerks and Recorders These institutions had not elected representatives They were primarily bodies of local justices and the actual business of local government was entrusted to salaried municipal commissioners

2 4 Under the East India Company —The system, was thus selfgoverning only in appearance During the rule of the East India Company, the predominant interests of the British were trade and commerce Bombay, calcutta and Madras were the leading trading centres which handled the bulk of trade between India and England and other foreign markets These towns included a substantial European and British population engaged in trade and commerce The administration of these trading ports, as well as provision of sanitary services to meet the demands of the European population] were considered important It was also necessary for the smooth flow of commercial transca tions that law and order,was maintained in these cities through a town constabulary The expenditure on these services was met by the residents of the towns The establishment of local government was thus motivated primarily to serve British interests rather than introduce local self governing bodies. These institutions were dominated by the British and the servants of the East India Company and only a handful of upper class educated Indians were associated with their working The bulk of the urban population had no opportunity to participate in the functioning of these institutions

2 05 The interests of the East India Company were primarily commercial and the administration was dominated by these considerations With the transfer of power to the Crown in 1858, India became a part of the British Empire and the

administration of the country was oriented to further the interests of the British imperialism. This led to the political consolidation of the country and the establishment of a uniform system of law and administration, which in turn resulted in the growth of a huge and complex administrative machinery with a large number of departments. The Government had to shoulder responsibility in the sphere of public works and social services. Some administrative devolution also became imperative, as such a vast country could not be governed efficiently by a central authority.

2.06 As a result of these development, provincial legislatures were created gradually and local government institutions began to grow. However, the immediate stimulus to the development of local institutions arose out of the postmutiny financial embarrassment of the British Government in India, which had accummulated by 1858, a debt of £ 98 millions. Money required for the development of roads, public works, health, education and other local amenities was hardly available. James Wilson, the then Finance Member, proposed financial decentralisation and the responsibility for roads and public works was assigned to the Provincial Governments. The Provincial Governments in turn transferred the responsibility for running these services to local bodies.

2.07 *Local bodies to raise resources for police and local works* : Sir John Lawrence's resolution of 1864 was prompted by these considerations. Owing to the abolition of the income tax in 1865, the imperial funds stood urgently in need of relief. It was, therefore, decided that the cost of town police must in future be directly borne by towns-folk themselves. All the towns, subjected to the new responsibility were permitted to enjoy municipal institutions and the surplus funds after meeting the cost of town police could be devoted to education, local improvement and works. In any case, the resolutions proved to be more effective in creating municipal institutions than the earlier actions of the Government of India. By 1870, every town of importance had a municipality. However, these municipal bodies were completely under the control of the

District Magistrate and the town people were associated only for raising funds for the maintenance of police, conservancy and road repairs

2 08 *Impact of socio economic changes* The development of local government after 1870 was again conditioned by the social and economic changes which the Indian society was experiencing The spread of English education and the impact of western culture resulted in changes in religious and social ideas and values These changes brought in their train new concepts of social justice and political rights The rule of law security of the private property new system of education commercial and industrial growth and the entry of India into the world market led to cumulative changes in the social structure New urban communities arose around the centres of industrial and commercial activities The social composition of these urban centres including doctors lawyers teachers traders etc was vastly different from that of the traditional towns and cities In these new centres the barriers of caste were shaken and the authoritarian and feudal basis of society slowly began to be transformed into a society based on social justice and equality The educated Indians began to question the policies of the British rulers and demanded more political right and greater share in the administration and superior public services

2 09 *Ripon Reforms and after* , The British Government could, no longer, remain unaffected by the growth of the new social economic and political philosophy and was compelled to provide an outlet for the rising aspirations and expectations of the people If the British Empire was to be sustained it was necessary to associate a larger number of Indians with the administration The growing demand for political and social justice and the national urge for self government had to be met in some manner The reforms initiated by Ripon were intended to meet these demands and aspirations By *1882* the system of local government had extended to almost all urban centres

2 10 In the subsequent years dissatisfaction against the British rule spread among larger sections of people The urban

centres became the focal points from where the educated Indians began to agitate for political freedom. Ripon's well-known resolution of 1812, emphasising the primacy of political education over the efficiency in local administration was meant precisely to provide an outlet to these national aspirations. It also conceded the principle of the local administration being run by an elected committee and more local functions being alocated to the municipal bodies. But these reforms were never put into practice and the local government continued to be controlled by the District Magistrate.

2.11 Ripon was succeeded by Viceroys who were not prepared to put political education above efficiency. Lord Curzon believed in centralised control, which reinforced the dominant position of officers and departmental employees. As a result, a rigid system of supervision was created, running from the municipality upto the Secretary of State. Such a syestem of official tutelage completely thwarted the growth of self-governing institutions and civil consciousness.

2.12 *Slow growth of self-governing institutions* : Although the municipal boards had been established in most of the cities, the urban local government could not strike roots in India even after a hundred years of existence for the system had been imported from the West for a society, which was organised differently. The Indian cities had grown round the princely courts, seats of government, pilgrim centres and temples, etc., where the traditions of local self-government never grew. Even in the new urban communities which grew up during the British rule owing to the development of commerce, trade, industry and transport, nothing comparable to the political and administrative autonomy of the European or English cities ever existed. The institutions representing exclusively the civic interests of the inhabitants of the towns were never created.

2.13 *Lack of social Cohesion and civic consciovsness* : The Indian society was divided into castes, occupational groups and religious communities. These social groups did not develop an emotional attachment with the local areas. Their allegiance

was primarily to caste or religious groups rather than to the local community There was no meaningful interaction between the various groups for solving the civil problems and meeting the needs of the community as a whole The ward of the city could never become the basis of community life Election of members to the municipal bodies was governed more by consideration of caste and community than by territorial loyalty The majority of the urban population had its moorings in the rural areas with hardly any abiding interest in the problems of the city In such circumstances, a sense of belonging to an urban community and civic consciousness never developed Consequently, the citizens were apathetic to what happened to the city and to the solution of its problems Matters of common interest continued to be those of religious endowments, festivals and social conventions rather than the provsion of civic services

2 14 *Not much scope for non officials* The challenge offered by the city government did not produce any sustained response from public men During the period of official control, local governing institutions hardly gave any scope to non official members to participate in the affairs of the local administration At the same time, not enough was done to strengthen the system of local government The social structure of the cities constituted as it was of particular groups, with varied behaviour, customs and attitudes, failed to produce the sense of cohesion, and this resulted in the lack of integration and common programme of action to which a vigorous leadership could address itself The leaders did not involve themselves in the development of civic amenities but utilised the local institutions to agitate for the national freedom

2 15 *Bombay City Government pattern* : The working of local government for these long years, however, was not altogether barren of results The Presidency town attained a system of responsible government Under the Bombay City Municipal Corporation Act, 1888, the city council of Bombay was constituted of a majority of elected members , half of whom were elected directly, one quarter indirectly by the councillors only the remaining one forth continued to be

Secondly, a 'Standing Committee' of the Council was formed to undertake the major portion of the work of the Council. The Council had an elected Chairman. The foundations of an autonomous and responsible local government, thus firmly laid in Bombay, have endured with some minor modifications to the present day. In all large cities, the idea of administration by an elected committee had come to be regarded as the natural form of the municipal organisation.

2.16 *Montague-Chelmsford Reforms* : The recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission of 1909 did not receive much attention and they were implemented only when the Montague—Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 gave a large measure of autonomy to the provincial legislatures. The responsibility for local government was taken out of the hands of the District Officers and placed under a department controlled by a popular Minister. The district officers ceased to be Chairmen of local bodies, though they were vested with powers of supervision over them. At the same time the franchise for election to local bodies was substantially widened. In some Provinces, the municipal bodies were given the power to raise or lower rates of taxes within the statutory limits.

2.17 *Elected councils and elected chairman* : The popular Ministers of Provincial Governments appointed under the Government of India Act, 1919, proceeded to establish elected councils and gave executive authority to the elected Chairman. The approach was more liberal and there was a deliberate attempt to give the local bodies greater freedom from outside control. However, the Government would sometimes issue directives prohibiting certain acts and in extreme cases supersede the local body. Apart from this negative approach, no attempt was made to strengthen the administrative machinery of local bodies.

2.18 *No attention to administrative machinery* : Laws governing local bodies enacted during the period 1917 to 1937, failed to prescribe an effective system for day-to-day management of municipal affairs. Hardly any attention was paid to the

question of administrative efficiency and fixation of responsibility for the proper performance of municipal functions A system of delegating responsiblity to various committees for supervising and guiding the performance of municipal functions such as public health, education, etc, was not evolved in most of the Provinces Even the Standing Committees of Bombay and Madras Corporations and some other municipal boards failed to coordinate the budget estimates of the various committees at the final stage

2 19 *Obstacles to healthy growth* Another factor which came in the way of the development of urban local government was the lack of urban traditions and an urban way of life among the vast majority of city dwellers Indian cities have grown by additions and agglomerations of small and large villages and by inclusion of rural migrants pushed out of the villages by the economic pressure The migrants continued to retain the rural out look and would not sever ties with their ancestral homes Their attitudes, values and behaviour patterns differed from those of the town dwellers This resulted not only in social and cultural maladjustment of the migrants but also in a lack of interest in civic activities This cultural and behavioural gap between several layers of differentially urbanised persons resulted in a lack of citizenship participation and in the city to grow into a coherent social community

2 20 *Emphasis on national freedom movement* : The Indian leaders gradually came to realise that the concepts of local autonomy and local government as a training ground for bigger political responsibilities were intended to divert the people's attention from the goal of national freedom The leaders, therefore, focussed their attention more upon the attainment of Independence After 1920, the Indian National congress laid greater emphasis on national politics and shifted its activities from urban to rural areas

2 21. *Deficiancies of municipal administration* The shortcomings in the system of urban local government have, in no small measure, been due to the inadequate planning and draft-

ing of municipal laws. Almost all Acts were deficient in certain respects. Not much was done to assist the system of local Government to grow and hardly any thought was given to the method of recruitment, conditions of service and training of the personnel. Relations of the Government with local bodies were limited to the control and supervision of the local boies by the State Government directly or through the District Magistrate. The committee system on which the local government mainly depends, was never developed fully. The problems of augmenting the local finances and of evolving a basis of grants were left un-resolved. No effort was made to assess the problems and implications of urbanisation and the needs and requirement of the urban administration in a changing society. Nothing was done to infuse the local government with dynamic ideas and bring the administration in touch with the realities of the situation.

2.22. Local government is vital for securing the participation of the people in the task of the nation building. Social and economic development on a wide front makes it imperative that the administrative responsibilities should be rationally distributed between the Union and State Government and local bodies. National policies become meaningless if they do not have a local relevance and do not reach down to the local communities. Local authorities are the channels which involve the people in the planning process and stimulate popular participation.

2.23. *New tasks of local bodies* : The social and economic structure of the Indian society is undergoing a radical change as a result of planned economic development. The most significant of these changes centre round the re organisation of the rural-urban relationship. In view of the new conditions arising out of processes of industrialisation and urbanisation and the socio-economic changes ensuing from economic planning, the role of local government takes a new perspective. It can, no longer, remain merely an instrument of political education and civic convenience, but has to become an institution for promoting social and economic development of the local community as an

integral part of the national development. Another important task that the local authorities have to perform is to provide, suitable means to the people for socio-cultural adaptation to the new conditions. This implies that the local authorities should function as institutions for building necessary dynamism in the people and creating initiative for the transformation of the society.

SECTION II

NATIONALIST FERMENT

PART A

LIBERALIST INSPIRATION

THE NATIONALIST FERMENT

Politics in India during the Nationalist period were influnced by several sources of insprıration, the chief ones being Western liberalism and Marxism While the liberalists drew their spiritual strength from the bourgeois concept of legal equality and freedom, the Marxists were energized by the Marxian concepts of class struggle and economic equality and freedom Whatever their sources of inspiration, all of them found a common enemy in the colonial domination and imperial rule in India and this enabled them to co operate with each other, with occassional reverses, to fight, for India's national independence from British rule The following twelve selections are from the most important nationalist leaders, and are intended to convey the unique contribution of each of them in the sphere of political theory.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT*

(Gopal Krishna Gokhale)

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I proposes to speak to you today of the economic condition of India and the Swadeshi movement One of the most gratifying signs of the present times is the rapid growth of the Swadeshi sentiment all over the country during the last two years I have said more than once here, but I think the idea bears repetition, that Swadeshism at its highest is not merely an industrial movement, but that it affects the whole life of the nation—that Swadeshism at its highest is a deep passionate, fervent, all embracing love of the Motherland, and that this love seeks to show itself, not in one sphere of activity only, but in all it invades the whole man, and it will not rest until it has raised the whole man Now the first thing I want to say about this movement is that it has come here to stay We often have movements which make a little noise for a time and then disappear without leaving any permanent mark behind I think it safe to say that the Swadeshi movement is not going to be one of that kind, and my own personal conviction is that in this movement we shall ultimately find the true salvation of India However, ladies and gentlemen I do not wish to speak to you today about Swadeshism in general The more immediate question before us is Swadeshism as applied to the present economic situation of India—its scope and character, the materials with which it has to work, and the difficulties it has to overcome before it can achieve in any degree the true industrial regeneration of the country

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* Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Speeches, Published by G A. Natesan & Co Madras, 1916, pp 116-1134

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THE SWADSSHI MOVEMENT

Gopal Krishna Gokhle was born in Kongan's Ratnagiri District in 1866. Having passed the B A. from the Elphiston College, Bombay, he returned to poona to take up a job as an assistant master at the New English School and simultaneously to study Law at the Daccan College. What brought Gokhale full swing to public life was his getting elected in 1886 to life membership in the Daccan Education Society which was founded in 1884. This also coincided with his final break with Balgangadhar Tilak, born in the same district as he was, and whose admirer he remained till about two years ago.

A pacifist by nature, throughout his life Gokhale remained an ardent advocate of reformist policies to be introduced by the British rulers. While advocating reforms like the introduction of English education for girls and raising of marriage age of girls, he could not convince himself of the need for organizing mass movements as Tilak did to attain swaraj for India. With no illusions about India's past glory, he recognized the gradual process of change that was transforming India's institutional pattern, and devcted himself to doing all he could to channel those changes in directions most useful to his countrymen. It was in this context that by 1897 he emerged as British India's leading unofficial spokesman for economic reform. And this is also the background against which he formulated the key ideas of his speech reproduced here.

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* Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Speeches, Published by G A. Natesan & Co Madras, 1916, pp 116 1134

Gentlemen, as Mr. Ranade once pointed out, the industrial domination of one people by another attracts much less attention than the political domination of a foreign people. The industrial domination is less visible and does its work in a more insidious manner. The disadvantages of a political domination lie very much on the surface. We see a foreign race monopolising all power and authority and keeping the people in a state of subjection. These are facts which we observe and feel every day of our lives. Human feelings often matter more to humanity than human interests, and when your feelings are hurt in various directions, as in a state of subjection, they are bound to be—I do not mean to throw any unnecessary blame on any one—their thought fills you night and day and makes you think constantly of the fact that you are living under a foreign domination. On the other hand, the industrial domination of one people by another may come in an attractives garb. If, as has been the case with India, this foreign domination comes in the shape of more finished articles—especially articles that administer to the daily wants of a community—you unconsciously welcome the domination, you fall a victim to its temptations and its attractiveness. And it is only when the evil grows beyond certain limits, that your attention is drawn to it. Now this is precisely what has happened in the case of India. As soon as Western education came to be imparted to the people of this country, their first thoughts were directed to their political status. Of course they also thought of their social institutions. Those who are acquainted with the history of the last fifty years, know that the struggle for political and social reforms started almost simultaneously, but I do not wish to go into that on this occasion. What I want to point out in is that the thought of the industrial domination of India by England did not really occur to men's minds at that time. At any rate, it did not occur in that pointed manner in which the thought of political domination did. The result was that the main current of our public activity came to be directed towards the realization of our political aspirations, and about 22 years ago when the Congress came into existence for the political advancement of the people, the question of this industrial domination, though it had struck a few thoughtful minds, did not receive that consideration at the hands of the

leaders of the people that it deserved However, the industrial problem and its importance are now receiving their due recognition, and today at any rate we appear to have gone so far in this direction that there is now the risk of the industrial problem actually throwing into the shade the political problem which, however, to a great extent lies at the root of the industrial problem.

Gentlemen, when we come to this question of India's industrial domination by England, we come to what may be described as the most deplorable result to British rule in this country In other matters there are things on the credit side and things on the debit side Take for instance the political and administrative results of British rule We have here the shutting out of a whole race from positions of real trust and responsibility where powers of initiative can be developed, and this producing disastrous results on the character of the people We also see that the forcible disarming of a population is bound to crush the manhood of the nation In these directions we find that a steady deterioration of the race has set in But there are compensating advantages, and I am not sure that the balance is not on the latter side Thus, the introduction of Western education, with its liberalising influence has been a great blessing to the people We now understand better the necessity of equal treatment for all, we also see that unless the status of woman is raised man by himself will not be able to advance very far, and altogether this Western education is doing most noble work in the country Then the British have established, on the whole, equal justice between Indian and Indian -as between European and Indian, that is a different matter -but between Indian and Indian it is equal, though it is costly, and that is more than can be said of previous rulers Railways, Telegraphs, Post Offices and other modern appliances of material civilization have also been introduced into India by the present rulers, and it is fair to acknowledge that these things have added greatly to the comforts and conveniences of life and are powerful help to our progress Lastly, there are the blessings of peace and of order well and firmly established These are things which must be set against the steady deterioration of which I have al-

leaders of the people that it deserved However, the industrial problem and its importance are now receiving their due recognition, and today at any rate we appear to have gone so far in this direction that there is now the risk of the industrial problem actually throwing into the shade the political problem which, however, to a great extent lies at the root of the industrial problem

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ready spoken, and I am not prepared to say that the balance is not, on the whole, on the side of the advantages. But when you come to the industrial field, you find that the results have been disastrous. You find very little here on the credit side and nearly all the entries on the debit side. Now this is a serious statment to make, but I think it can be substantiated. I would ask you, first, to glance at what India was Industrially before the the English came into this country. It is true that there is very little direct or statistical evidence on this subject. But the statements made by travellers who came to this country supply a fair indication of how things were, though they do not enable us to establish a conclusion accurately or satisfactorily. We find, for instance, praise of India's riches in every place; we find also here and there a description of the poverty of the mass of the people. And, on the whole, I think it is fair to say this--that, compared with other countries, India could not have been worse, and very probably she was better off than most other countries, and I think this description may well apply to her right up to the of Mahomedan rule. India's reputed wealth was the attracting cause of so many invasions. Large wealth must, therefore, have been accumulated in some hands, and so far as the bulk of the population was concerned, as the land was fertile and the people were industrious and thrifty and, on the whole, free from vices, such as drink, it is fair to conclude that the people must have enjoyed a considerable degree of rule and agricultural prosperity. It is not proper to compare the West of today, with all its production of machinery and steam, with the India of 200 years ago. Before steam and machinery were employed in the West, the West too was largely agricultural, and she had them no special advantages for the production of wealth over us. And I believe that, judged by the standards of those days we could not have been poorer, and very probably we were richer than most Western countries. Then there was the excellence of our productions which attracted the attention Western nations—the fine muslins and many other things exported from this country showed what a high level of excellence had been reached by our people in industrial production. When the Mahomedan rulers came, they settled in this country, and there was no question of any foreign drain. Things, therefore must

have, on the whole, continued as they had been before their time

Then we come to British rule, Gentlemen, I refer, on this occasion, to the past only in order that, in the *light of it*, we might understand the present and derive therefrom guidance and assistance for the future The early days of the East India Company's rule were as bad as could possibly be from the standpoint of India's industrial system Deliberate steps were taken by the Company to destroy the industries of the people and to make room for Western manufacturers This was England s policy, not towards India alone, but towards America and Ireland also America got rid of it by shaking off England s dominion altogether Ireland struggled to do the same, but did *not succeed India suffered the worst under the operation of* evil policy The object aimed at by the East India Company was to reduce India to the level of a merely agricultural country producing raw material only, without factories to manufacture the same This was the first stage in our industrial decay The second stage began when England forced on us the policy of free trade, i e , of leaving the door wide open to the competition of the whole world England's own policy for centuries had been that of Protection and by that policy she had built up her vast industrial system But about sixty years ago, the old policy was reversed and adopted Free Trade, mainly to set right the abuses to which Protection had given rise England depends on foreign countries for most of her raw materials, and she supplies manufactured articles practically to the whole world It was there fore, to the advantage of England that there should be no export or import duties, as one result of such duties was to add to the cost of the articles supplied to foreign countries But forcing this policy of free trade upon a country circumstanced as India *was a wholly different thing and was bound to produce* results of a most disastrous character Our things were made with the hand, we did not possess anything like the combination, skill or enterprise of the West Steam and machinery were unknown in the country Our industries were therefore, bound to perish as a result of the shock of this sudden competition to which they were exposed, and as a matter of course the intro-

duction of Free Trade in this country was followed by the rapid destruction of such small industries as had existed in the country, and the people were steadily pressed back more and more on the one resource of agriculture. I should not have deplored even this destruction of our indigenous manufactures if the Government had assisted us in starting others to take their place. The German economist—List—whose work on Political Economy is the best that Indian students can consult, explains how the state can help an old-agricultural country, studdenly brought within the circle of the world's competition, to build up a new system of industries. He says that the destruction of hand-industries is a necessary stage through which and industrially backward country must pass before she can take rank with those which use steam and machinery and advanced scientific processes and appliances in their industrial production. When hand-made goods are exposed to the competition of machine-made goods, it is inevitable that the former should perish. But when this stage is reached there comes in the duty of the State. The State by a judicious system of protection should then ensure conditions under which new infant industries can grow up. And until the new industries can stand on their own legs, it become the duty of the State to have a protective wall around. This is what America—already one of the richest nations in the world, and one which which will yet reach the foremost place—has done, and the case is the same with France and Germany. The result of England's policy in India has, however, been to facilitate more and more the imports of foreign commoditites. until there is no country on the face of the earth to-day which is so dependent on the foreign producer as India is. At the present moment about 70 per cent of our exports are raw [illegible]al raised from the soil and exported in that condition. If we had the skill, enterprise, capital and organisation to manufacture industries the greater part of this material raised from the soil, there would be so many industries flourishing in the country. But the material goes out and comes back in the shape of manufactured commodities, having acquired a much price in the process of manufacture.

[illegible] if you look at your imports, you will find that (0%,

of them are manufactured goods. They are goods which have been made by other people, so that all you have got to do with them is to consume them. If this was all, if the steady [illegible] tion of India, her being steadily pushed back [illegible] of agriculture was all that we had [illegible] the present policy, the situation [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] imports of India are [illegible] [illegible] 150 [illegible] a year.

of them are manufactured goods They are goods which have been made by other people, so that all you have got to do with them is to consume them If this was all if the steady rustication of India her being steadily pushed back on the one resource of agriculture was all that we had to deplore as the result of the present policy, the situation would not have been so critical But coupled with political domination, this has produced a state of things which can only be described as intolerable The total imports of India are worth about 100 crores of rupees every year Our total exports, on the other hand amout to about 150 crores a year

In other words, every year about 100 crores worth of goods come to us, and we part with 150 crores worth of goods After taking into consideration the precious metals that come into the country to redress a part of the balance, we still find that a loss of about 30 to 40 crores a year has to be borne by India Now, I will put a simple question to those present here If a hundred rupees come into your house every month and a hundred and fifty rupees go out will you be growing richer or poorer ? And if this process goes on year after, decade after decade what will be your position after a time ? This has been the case with India now for many years Every year between 30 to 40 crores of rupees go out of India never to come back No country not even the richest in the world—can stand such a bleeding as this Bleeding is a strong word, but it was first used with regard to this very process by a great English statesman—the time and was before that Secretary of State for India Now this bleeding is really at the root of the greater part of the economic mischief that we have to face to day It means that this money, which would have been available to the people if it had remained in this country, as capital for industrial purpose, is lost to us The result is that there is hardly any capital of our own forthcoming for industrial purposes Do not be misled by the fact that a few individuals appear to be rich and have a little money to invest You must compare India in this matter with other countries, and then you will find that there is hardly any capital accumulated by us to be devoted to industrial development One of the greatest

students of Indian Economics—the late Mr. Justice Ranade once calculated that our annual saving could not be more than 8 to 10 crores of rupees. Put it even at 20 crores ; what is that in a vast country like India compared with the hundreds and thousands of crores accumulated annually by the people of the West. This, then, is at the root of our trouble. I do not say that there are no considerations on the other side. It might, for instance, be said that the railways in this country have been constructed with English capital. About 375 crores have been so far spent to build these railways, and it is only fair that for this capital India should pay a certain sum as interest. Englishmen have also invested British capital in indigo, tea, and other industries. A part of this capital has no doubt come out of their own savings made in this country, but whether the money has been earned here or imported from England, the investors are, of course entitled to a reasonable rate of interest on it. But after a deduction is made on account of this interest, there still remians a sum of over 30 crores as the net loss that India has to bear year by year. You may ask what politics has got to do with this. Well, the greater part of this loss is due to the unnatural political position of India, and I think we shall not be far wrong if we put the annual drain, due to the political causes directly and indirectly, at about 20 crores of rupees. The greater part of the Home Charges' of the Government of India, which now stand at about 18 millions sterling or 27 crores of rupees, comes under this description. To this has to be added a portion at least of the annual savings of European merchants, lawyers, doctors, and such other persons, as the dominant position of the Englishmen in the country gives these classes special advantages which their Indian competitors do not enjoy. Then there are the earnings of the English officials and the British troops in the country. And altogether I am convinced that it is not an extravagant estimate to put the annual cost to India of England's political domination at 20 crores of rupees, the remaining ten crores being lost on account of our industrial domination by England.

This, then, is the extent of the'bleeding' to which we aresubjected year after year. It is an enormous economic evil, and as long

as it is not substantially reduced, the prospect cannot be a cheering one After all, what can you do with a small amount of capital? You must not be led away by the fact that, from time to time, you hear of a new industrial concern being started here or there The struggle is a much bigger one than that It is like the struggle between a dwarf and a giant If you will form the least idea of the resoureces of the Western people, then you will understand what a tremendously difficult problem we have to face in this economic field If this continuous bleeding is to cease, it is incumbent that our men should be employed more and more in the service of the State so that pensions and furlough charges might be saved to the country The stores which the Government of India puchases in England should be purchased locally as far as possible In other directions also our position must be improved But, I think, we should not be practical, if we did not recognize that any important change in the political relations between England and India could come only gradually If Is not by a sudden and violent movement that belief will come It will only come as we slowly build our own strength and bring it to bear upon the Government As this strength is increased, so will the drain be diminished The industrial drain—due to the fact that we depend so largely for our manufactures upon foreign countries—is really speaking but a small part of the drain about one-third or ten crores of rupees a year This means that if we ever succeeded in reaching a position of entire self reliance industrially, it would still leave about two thirds of the present annual drain untouched Moreover, such entire dependence upon yourselves upon yourself for industrial purposes is a dream that is not likely to be realised in the near future I am sorry I must trouble you with a few figures, but a question of this kind cannot be adequately considered without bringing in statistics What, then, is the position? India, as you know, is for the most part an agricultural country Sixty five per cent of the population, according to the last census reports—80 per cent according to the computation of Lord Curzon—depend upon agriculture The soil is becoming rapidly exhausted and the yield per acre is diminishing if you compare the yield to small day with what it was in the time of Akbar, as given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* you will

astonished to see what deterioration has taken place in the soil. This makes agricultural improvement a matter of great difficulty. You have got to abolish old methods as much as possible and effect improvements by introducing the method of the West. You have got to introduce agricultural science and improved agricultural implements, and the question is complicated by the fact that our agricultural production in this country generally is on what is called a small scale. Land is divided and sub-divided, and most of the holdings are so small as not to lend themselves to the use of advanced appliances. The ignorance and resourcelessness of the peopie also stand in the way and altogether agriculture improvement is bound to be a matter of slow growth. But this is one direction in which you young men can help the country. Instead of scrambling for government service or overcıowding the already crowded Bar, let a few at least among you acquire agricultural education abroad, acquaint themselves with the use of advanced agricultral appliances, and then settle down to agricultural work in this country. You will thereby not only improve agriculture for yourselves, but will also show the way to others, and they will follow when they see the good results obtained by you. The Government, which has only recently awakened to its duty in this matter, has already taken agriculture in hand, but the greater part of this work must be done by ourselves. Our next industry, after agriculture, is the *texlile industry*—the cotton industry. Now, taking only the production of mills, we find that last year about one-fourth of what the whole of India needed was produced in India, and three-fourths came from outside. The capital that is invested in this country in the textile industry is between 16 and 17 crores of rupees. This may seem a large amount to some of you, but what is it compared with the capital invested in this industry in England? In Lancashire alone 300 crores of rupees are invested this textile industry, and every year the amout is increasing by leaps and bounds. On a rough calculation you will find that, if our present production is to be quadrupled about forty and fifty crores of rupees of additional capital would be wanted. That cannot be a matter of a day. The hand-loom is doing good work, and has some future before it. But do not let us be under

a delusion The main part of the work will have to be done by machinery It is only in this way that we shall be able to stand the competition of producers of other countries If we are able to find this capital in the course of the next 10 or 15 years, I for one shall be content My own fear is that it will take more than that If by the end of ten years we are able to produce all the cotton cloth we require, think we shall have done exceedingly well We must all berd our energies in that direction and try to capture or rather recover this field as soon as and as completely as possible. But then, gentlemen, I would say this The task even under the most favourable circumstances, is a formidable one, and it is in the highest degree unwise to add to its great difficulty by unnecessary, bitter or lamentable controversies You require for a satisfactory solution of this problem co operation from all quarters, including the Government of the country We have to depend, for present at any rate upon foreign countries for our machinery If, in pursuing our object, care is not taken to avoid causing unnecessary irritation to others, there is nothing to prevent this Government from hitting back and imposing a heavy tax say, of 20 or 25 percent on machinery, which would practically destroy all our chances of increasing our production of cotton goods The problem is also largely a problem of the necessary quality of cotton being obtained in this country At one time India produced very fine cotton and the finest muslins were made of it Unforunately the cultivation of that cotton has, in course of time owing to various causes, been given up and the present cotton is of short staple which gives you only a comparatively coarse thread Now we know from part experience that this land can grow superior cotton And the Bombay Government have been for a number of years making experiments to introduce into the country Egyptian cotton, and have at last been able to produce a cross between the Egyptian and the Indian, which has taken root If all the area irrigated in Sind—the conditions of which are similar to those of Egypt-succeeds in growing this cotton, then the finer fabric problem will have been solved. The cooperation of Government in this matter is thus essential, and those who have occasion to talk of the Swadeshi question should not fail to realize that a great

responsibility rests upon them. They only unnecessarilly increase the difficulties in our path when they talk as though we could do without Government assistance in the matter ; and thereby they damage, without meaning to do so, such chances as exist for real industrial progrees. But in the case of this cotton industry, I think the outlook, on the whole is a most hopeful one.

I turn next to the sugar industry. At one time we exported sugar, but at the psesent time sugar comes into this country to the amount of 7 crores a year. Foreign Governments have been helping their people with bounties, and they have discovered methods where by the cost of production has been greatly reduced. We, on the other hand, still adhere to our old-world methods of production. Sugarcane is plentiful in all parts of India, especially in your province. If we make up our minds to encourage Indian sugar as far as possible and in this case I am glad to be able to say "have nothing to do with foreign sugar"—we should be able, with the co-operation of Government, in a brief time to produce all the sugar we want. In this connection I was glad to notice a statement made by your Lieutenent-Governor the other day in the matter. He said he would rejoice if even a single tone of suger did not come from other countries. By co operation, therefore, between the people and the Governmet the sugar problem would be solved practically at once. In Bengal, again, they import a good deal of salt from England though other provinces consume mostly Indian salt. With such a vast sea bed as India possesses, India ought certainly to be able to produce her own salt. Again, about 20 lakhs worth of umbrellas, 50 lakhs worth of matches and 60 lakhs worth of paper come into the country every year from abroad. All these articles are now being produced here, and with a determination on our part to use these articles as much as possible and encourage their production, and consumption, we should soon be able to shut out the foreign supply.

But, after all is said and done, I want you to recognise that the possibilities in the near future are not very large. I say this not to damp any one's enthusiasm, because I do not want that

your enthusiasm should sustain itself at its highest glow in this matter But remember that the competition before us is like that between a giant and a dwarf Even if we successfully make up our minds to have nothing to do with foreign goods, even then the industrial salvation of India will not have been accomplished We are the poorest country in the world at the present moment, England, on the other hand, is the richest The production per head in India is £2 or Rs 30 according to Government calculation and about Rs 20 according to Indian Government calculation England s production per head is £40, i e, about 20 or 30 times greater than that of this country Take again the buying power of the people as judged by the imports In England the average imports per head are about £ 15 or Rs 235, in the self governing colonies of England they are £ 13, even in Ceylon they are £ 2 per head, but in India they are only six shillings or 4 or 5 rupees per head There are other figures equally startling Take for instance the deposits in banks Of course banking is in much more backward condition in this country than in England But even making allowance for that, you will see that the disproportion is very great The deposits in English banks are about 1,200 crores of rupees for a population of about 4 crores We are 30 crores and our deposits are only 50 crores for the whole of India and these deposits include also the amount held by European merchants and traders in the country Again, take the Savings Banks In the Savings Banks and Trustees Banks in England there are 300 crores deposited today as against 12 crores in this country—less than seven annas per head against about Rs 75 per head in England You can easily see now how terrible is the disproportion between England's resources and our own Add to this the fact that machinery has to come from England, and by the time it is set up here, there is already some improvement effected in England The problem before us is therefore, a vastly difficult one and it is a solemn duty resting upon everyone, who is a real well wisher of the Swadeshi cause, not to add to that difficulty, if he can help it

Our resources then are small and our difficulties are enormous It behoves us, therefore, not to throw away any co-ope-

ration from whatever quarter it may be forthcoming. Remember that, though there is a certian scope for small village industries, our main reliance now-exposed as we are to the competition of the whole world—must be on production with the aid of steam and machinery. From this standpoint, what are our principal needs today. In the first place, there is general ignorance throughout the country about the industrial condition of the world. Very few of us understand where we are, as compared with others, and why we are where we are, and why others are where they are. Secondly, our available capital is small, and it is, morever, timid. Confidence in one another in the spirit of co operation for industrial pruposes is weak, and joint stock enterprise is, therefore, feeble. Thirdly, there is a lack of facilities for higher scientific and technical instrcution in the country. Lastly, such new articles as we succeed in manufacturing find themselves exposed at once to the competition of the whole world, and as, in the beginning at any rate, they are bound to be somewhat inferior in quality and probably higher in price, it is difficult for them to make their way in the Indian market. Now as our needs are various, so the *Swadeshi* cause requires to be served in a variety of ways. and we should be careful not to quarrel with others, simply because they serve the cause in a different way from our own. Thus, whoever tries to spread in the country a correct knowledge of the industrial conditions of the world and points out how we may ourselves advance, is a promoter of the *Swadeshi* cause. Whoever again contributes capital to be applied to the industrial development of the country must be regarded as a benefactor of the country and a valued supporter of the *Swadeshi* movement. Then those who organize funds for sending Indian students to foreign countries for acquiring industrial or scientific education—and in our present state we must, for some time to come, depend upon foreign countries for such education—or those who proceed to foreign countries for such education and try to start new industries on their return or those who promote technical,industrial and scientific education in the counry itself—all these are noble workers in the *Swadeshi* field. These three ways of serving the *Swadeshi* cause are, however, open to a limited number of persons only. But there is a fourth way, which is open to all of us, and in the case of most.

it is perhaps, the only way in which they can help forward the *Swadeshi* movement It is to use ourselves, as far as possible, *Swadeshi* articles only and to preach to others that they should do the same By this we shall ensure the comsumption of whatever articles are produced in the country, and we shall stimulate the production of new articles by creating a demand for them The mass of the people cannot contribute much capital to the industrial development of the country Neither can they render much assistance in the matter of promoting higher scientific, technical or industrial knowledge among us, but they can all render a most important and a most necessary service to the *Swadeshi* cause by undergoing a little sacrifice to extend a kind of voluntary protection to *Swadeshi* industries in their early days of stress and struggle In course of time the quality of *Swadeshi* articles is bound to improve and their cost of production to become less and less And it is no merit if you buy them when they can hold their own against foreign articles in quality or price It is by ensuring the consumption of indigenous articles in their early stage, when their quality is inferior or their price is higher, or when they labour under both these disadvantages, that we can do for our industries what Protectionist Governments have done for theirs by means of State protection Those therefore, who go about and preach to the people that they should use, as far as possible *Swadeshi* articles only are engaged in sacred work and I say to them—go forward boldly and preach your Gospel enthusiastically, only do not forget that yours is only one way out of several of serving the Swadeshi cause And do not work in a narrow, exclusive, intolerant spirit which say—whoever is not against us is with us Try to keep down and not encourage the tendency, which seems to be almost inherent in the Indian mind of today, to let small differences assume undue improtance Harmony, co operation, union—by these alone can we achieve any real success in our present state

In this connecton I think I ought to say a word about an expression which has, of late, found considerable favour with a section of my countrymen—'the boycott of foreign goods' I am sure most of those who speak of this boycott mean by it only the use, as far as possible, of *Swadeshi* articles in preference to foreign

[illegible] the word 'boycott' has a sinister meaning — [illegible] And I think we would [illegible] to describe our present [illegible] Moreover, remember that this 'boy- [illegible] practicable in our present [illegible] For when you 'boycott' foreign goods, you [illegible] a parcel of imported articles and we only make ourselves ridiculous by talking of a resolution which we cannot enforce.

One word more and I have done. In the struggle that lies before us, we must be prepared for repeated disappointments. We must make up our minds that our progress is bound to be slow, and our successes, in the beginning at any rate, comparatively small. But if we go to work with firm faith in our hearts, no difficulties can obstruct our way for long, and the future will be more and more on our side. After all, the industrial problem, formidable as it is, is not more formidable than the political problem. And, to my mind, the two are largely bound together. Ladies and gentlemen, the task which the people of India are now called upon to accomplish is the most difficult that ever confronted any people on the face of the earth. Why it has pleased Providence to set it before us. Why we are asked to wade through the deepest part of the stream--to be in the hottest part of the battle Providence alone knows. But it is my hope and my faith that we will successfuly achieve this task. The situation requires us to devote ourselves to the service of our Motherland in an earnest and selfsacrificing spirit. But that can be higher or nobler or holier or more inspiring than such service ? In working for India, we hall only be working for the land of our birth, for the land of our fathers, for the land of our children. We shall be working for a country which God has blessed in many ways, but which man has not served so well. And if we do this work as God wants us to do it, our Motherland will yet march onwards and again occupy an honoured place among the nations of the world.

17

SELF GOVERNMENT AND "HOME RULE"

Born in 1856 in Ratnagiri District, Bal Gangadhar Tilak emerged as one of the foremost leaders of political extremism and Hindu revivalism in India's nationalist movement While ideals of Rule and Hindu *Swaraj* inspired Tilak, British inspired social reforms and domestically supported institutional changes were all highly repulsive to him, Thus he objected to not only the introduction on English education for girls in India, but also the raising of marriage age of girls from 10 to 12 with firm faith in the strength of organized, and in the secret of the power that would emerge out of the combination of religion and politics, he glorified India's past and sought to mobilize the Hindus of India around religious ideals and Hindu heroes Thus by 1897 he succeeded in building a militant hindu party in Maharashtra and became its hero by winning the title of *Lokamanya* By inaugurating the celebration of Ganapati Festival and Shivaji's Coronation, he roused popular sentiments for *Swarajya* He also advocated guerilla warfare in order to hasten the attainment of India's independence from the British domination And he spared no time or effort in his attempt to give to the Indian National Congress a revolutionary colour, with the ultimate aim of severing all connections with England It is this general background that gives meaning to his speeches reproduced here

"SELF GOVERNMENT" AND "HOME RULE"

(Bal Gangadhar Tilak)

(In supporting the resolution on Self-Government, at the 31st Indian National Congress of 1916, held at Lucknow, Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, said):—

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen:—I thank you sincerely for the reception that you have given me on this platform ; but let me tell you thaf I am not fool enough to think that this reception is given to me personally. It is given, if I rightly understand, for those principles for which I have been fighting. (Here, hear)—The resolution which I wish to support embodies all these principles. It is the resolution on self-government. It is that for which we have been fighting—the Congress has been fighting for the last 30 years. The first note of it was heard ten years ago on the banks of the Hooghly and it was sounded by the Grand Old Man of India—that Parsi Patriot of Bombay, Dadabhai Naoroji. (Applause). Since that note was sounded a difference of opinion arose. Some said that note ought to be carried on and ought to be followed by detailed scheme at once, and that it should be taken up and made to resound all over India as soon as possible. There was another party amongst us that said that it could not be done so soon and that the tune of that note required to be a little

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From Balgangadhar Tilak, *Writiags and Speeches*. Edited and Published by Ganesh & Co. (Madras : 1919), Second Enlarged Edition, pp 201-206; 210-215.

lowered That was the cause of dissension ten years age But I am glad to say that I have lived these ten years to see that we reunite on this platform and that we are going to put forward our voices and shoulders together to push on this scheme of self-government We have lived—there is a further thing—not only have we lived to see these differences closed, but to see the differences of the Hindus and Mahomedans closed as well So we are united in every way in the United Provinces and we have found that luck in Lucknow (Laughter) I consider this the most auspicious day, the most auspicious in the most auspicious session of the 31st Indian National Congress And there are only one or two points on which I wish to address you

It has been said, gentlemen, by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mahomedan brethren I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much I would not care if the rights of self government are granted to the Mahomedan community only (Hear, hear) I would not care if they are granted to the Rajputs I would not care if they are granted to the lower and the lowest classes of the Hindu population provided the British Government considers them more fit than the educated classes of India for exercising those rights I would not care if those rights are granted to any section of the Indian community The fight then will be between them and the other sections of the community and not as at present a triangular fight We have to get these rights from a powerful Bureaucracy, an unwilling Bureaucracy now feels that these rights, these privileges, this authority, will pass out of their hands I would feel the same if I were in that position and I am not going to blame the Bureaucracy for entertaining that natural feeling But whatever the character of that feeling may be it is a feeling which we have to combat against, it is a feeling that is not conducive to the growth of self government in this country We have to fight against that feeling When we have to fight against a third party—it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, united as regards all different shades of political creed That is the most important event of the day

Let us glance. As I said, ten years ago when Dadabhai Naoroji declared that Swaraj should be our goal its name was Swaraj. Later on it came to be known as self-government of constitutional reform; and we Nationalists style it Home Rule. It is all the same, in three different names. It is said that as there is objection raised that Swaraj has a bad odour in India and Home Rule has a bad odour in England we ought to call it constitutional reform. I don't care to call it by any name. I don't care for any name. If you style it as A, B, C. reform scheme or X.Y.Z reform scheme I shall be equally content; I don't mind for the name, but I believe we have. But I believe you have hardly realised the importance, hardly realized the importance and character of that scheme of reform. Let me tell you that it is far more liberal than the Irish Home Rule Bill and then you can understand what possibilities it carries with it. It will not be complete Home Rule but more than a beginning of it. It may not be ment. (Laughter.) It may both be Swaraj in the widest sense of the word but it is far better than Swadeshi and boycott. It is in fact a synthesis of all the Congress resolutions passed during the last 30 years—a synthesis that will help us on to proceed, to work in a definite, in a certain responsible manner. We cannot now afford to spend our energy on all 30 resolutions—Public Service resolutions, Arms Act and sundry others. All that is included in this one resolution of self-government and I would ask every one of you to try to carry out this one resolution with all effort, might, and enthusiasm, and everything that you can command. Your intelligence, your money. You enthusiasm, all that you can command, must now be devoted for carrying out this scheme of reform. Don't think it is an easy task. Nothing can be gained by passing a resolution on this platform. Nothing can be gained by simple union of the two races. Hindus and Mahomedans and the two parties, Moderates and Nationalists. The union is intended to create a certain power in and energy amongst us and unless that energy and power are exercised to the utmost you cannot hope to succeed. So great are the obstacles in your way. In short you must now be prepared to fight out your scheme. I don't care if the sessions of the Congress are not held any longer. I think it has done its work as a deliberative body. The next

part is executive and I hope I shall be able to place before you later the executive part of the scheme It is only the deliberative part that has been placed before you Remember what has been done It is not the time for speaking When Swaraj was declared as our goal it was questioned whether it was legal and the Calcutta High Court has declared that it was Then it was said that Swaraj was legal but it must be expressed in such words as do not amount to a criticism of the Bureaucracy That too has been judicially decided You can criticize, you can make any criticism in order to further your object, in order to justify your demand perfectly within the bounds of law So the goal has been declared legal Here you have a specific scheme of Swaraj passed by United India All the thorns in our way now do not obtain that is described in the scheme Remeber that But I will tell you it is a very serious responsibility Don't shirk it Work I say the days of wonders are gone You cannot now feed hundreds of people on a few crumbs of bread as Jesus did The attainment of your object cannot be achieved by a wonder from heaven You have to do it These are days of work, incessant labour, and I hope that with the help of Providence you will find that energy, that enthusiasm and those resources which are required for carrying out this scheme within the next two years to come If not by the end of 1917, when I expect the war will be closed, during the least 1918 we shall meet at some place in India, where we shall be able to raise up the banner of self rule (Loud applause)

HOME RULE

(Under the presidency of Mr Nana Saheb Data, a public meeting was held at Akola, on Januaey, 1916, when Bal Gangadhar Tilak spoke on home Rule as follows) —

It was about 8 years ago that I had occasion to speak to you and I well remember what I said then when concluding my address "Surat split' had occurred 2 years before, and I said, that the split was not due to divergence in ideals, but to differences of opinion as to the method of work which was to be followed to gain the one common ideal of Swaraj which was held

up before the eyes of the Naition by the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, in his Presidential speech, as the President of the Indian National Congress. The difference being one of method and not of ideal it would surely be forgotten as time rolled on, and the keenness of it would be lessened every year till we met again on a common platform. The events since the last Congress have proved my prophecy. The ideal of Home Rule has passed through trials and ordeals, and stands today perfectly vindicated as both loyal and practical. It is now conclusively proved that the gain of the one is the gain of both, and in India's Self-Government lies the future stability and safety of the British Empire. Since Home Rule became an ideal, vindicated in Courts of law as legal and loyal, it had to be proved by arguments that India stood in immediate need of it, that India should demand it, that the demand was justified by defects in the method of the working of the existing mode of Government which could not be remedied except by Self-Government and that it was also proved that we were fit for receiving and handling the right of Swaraj when they came to us. In justifying Swaraj and pointing out the defects of the present system of Government one had to use hard arguments and a language which-taking the subject-matter into consideration—could not be soft. And in certain quarters this again was resented. Our opponents said : "ask for your Home Rule as much as you like but you must not criticise the bureaucracy; that creates discontent." This was asking us to achieve an impossibility. It was as if you asked a man to eat a fruit without biting it. To ask you to do so is only another way of preventing you from eating the fruit. How could the demand for Home Rule be justified without showing that there were defects in the present mode of working of the Government which were incurable without Home Rule for India ? And how could those defects be shown except by irrefutable arguments which hit hard ? Luckily this question has been solved by the Bombay High Court for us now, and it is pronounced that criticising the visible machinery of the Government is not sedition, that an angry word, a hard expression, and an indiscreet phrase might have been employed without meaning the last harm. Thus we know that the ideal of Home Rule is legitimate and just, and criticism of the existing mode of

Government is not illegal, but the great question is yet undecided and the question is

WHAT IS MEANT BY HOME RULE ?

That is the third stage in the history of Home Rule I am glad to tell you the last Congress has given a satisfactory answer to this question It is not a solution which one party puts forward, it is not a solution which one Community advances It is a solution unanimously accepted by Hindus, Mussalmans, Moderates and Nationalists alike It means Representative Government, Government over which the people will have control I shall tell you also

WHAT IT DOES NOT MEAN

It does not mean shaping as under the connection between England and India, it does not mean disclaiming the suzerain power of the King Emperor On the contrary it affirms and strengthens both We need the protection of England even as a matter of pure self interest This is the key note to which the song of Home Rule must be tuned, you must not forget this nor must be tuned, you must not forget this nor must you forget that it is the connection with England and the education she gave that has given rise to the ambitions that fill your hearts today

Self Government, as I told you, means Representative Government in which the wishes of the people will be respected and acted upon and not disregarded as now, in the interests of a small minority of Civil Servants Let there be a Viceroy and let him be an Englishman if you like, but let him act according to the advice of the representatives of the people Let our money be spent upon us and with our consent Let public servants be really servants of the public and not their masters as they at present are The question as to how many members will sit in this Council is immaterial The material question is, will the greater majority of them represent the Indian public or not, will they be able to dictate the policy of the Government or not ? This then is what Home Rule really means

LONG AND WEARY PATH

Now, I need hardly tell you that a long and weary path lies before you. You must tread it with courage and steadily. It is a difficult thing to gain and therefore worth gaining. Great things cannot be easily gained and things easily gained are not great. In the Gita Lord Shri Krishna says that among the 5 causes that lead to success "Daiwa" is one. Daiwa is the chance that God gives you and leaves you to profit by it or not. Daiwa is something that human effort cannot control but which comes just at the time which is most opportune and it is entirely our fault if we do not know how to take advantage of it, and knowing it, fail to take advantage of it. You have now Daiwa in your favour. You must press your claims now. This is the time. If you fail to make an advance, the world will march ahead and you will be left behind like the grass that grows by the road side, like the mile-stone that ever stands there.

PROFIT BY THE OPPORTUNITY

Everybody in the world is trying to profit by the opportunity The colonies are proclaiming aloud their claims. They are making their own schemes ready and pressing their claims on England. A great reform, a great re-arrangement is inevitable after this War and the colonies are thrusting their hands in the management of the Empire. They have their claim on the fact of having helped the British Empire in this War. Have we not done it equally if not better ? If the Colonies succeed in their effort we will be brought under their heels and they will trample on our liberties. In order to justify their sehemes they have sent their men in India to collect evidence in support of what they say and their messengers are already at work. None will be more unlucky and unfortunate than yourselves if you lag behind at this critical moment. You have the ideal of Swaraj, you have the legal methods to work for it, and you know what the ideal means. The Almighty helps you in His inscrutable Divine ways by offering a unique opportunity. Now it is for you to say whether you will answer by gigorous efforts or sit silent and let the opportunity slip through your fingers. By allowing this

golden opportunity to escape, you are incurring the just blame of those that will be born hereafter Your daughters and sons will be ashamed of you and future generations will curse you Take courage therefore and work now Strike the iron whilst it is not and yours shall be the glory of success

18

IMPERIALISM VS INDIGENOUS TRADE

Subramanya Bharati (1882-1921), the poet hero of Tamilnadu utilised his talents as a poet to instill nationalist sentiments in the hearts of the Tamils, during the first outburts of the nationalist movement in India. The significance of his contribution lies in the fact that as the people of India were gaining national self-consciousness and were moving to end their subjugation, he took art and literature out of the hands of the imperialist culture-makers and tured them to the social and political issues that were at the base of their reduced status. Bharati is an example not only of the way how a revolutionary artist transforms his art into a medium of political educatton, but also of how, in that process, he may alter the nature of his native culture and change the direction of his artform. Thus while a prime mover of the struggle for independence among the Tamils, he also Injected innovations in to Tamil poetry, language, and song. Hence the Tamils call Bharati a "revolutionary" in a double sense.

Born a Brahmin at Ettapuram, during his youthB harati was retained at the court of the Rajah of the place, where he studied Tamil and English. When fifteen, he was sent to Benares to study Sanskrit, and it is there that he emerged first as a rebe-llion son and later as a revolutionary poet and patriot.

It was the nationalist ferment in India following the partiti-oning of Bengal in 1905 by Lord Curzon that brought Bharati

on the political scene This also coincided with the founding of the Swadeshi Steamship Comany in Madras by Chidambaram Pillai Being the first native owned and operated trading com pnay in India since the landing of the East India Company two and a half centuries earlier, Chidambarm Pillai s company was subjected to constant harassment by the outhorities, and was eventually driven out of business Chidambaram Pillai himself was jailed for sedition, and then sentenced to prison and exile

In the selection included here, Bharati describes a courtscene in Chidambaram Pillai's trial

IMPERIALISM VS INDIGENEOUS TRADE*

(Subramanyam Bharathiyar)

Indictment of Chidambaram Pillai by Governor Finch

You
have ignited the passion
throughout this land.
You stir coals into flame.
I
will break you,
starve your resolve
in prison,
I
will parade my power
indomitable

You bring masses together
with a song of freedom.
You insult us,
defy the crown;
you have built a ship

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* David L[illegible], "The S[illegible] Revolution of B[illegible]" [illegible] Gough and Hari P. Sharma (eds.), *Imperialism and [illegible]*, Mthly Review Press (New York : 1973) pp. [illegible]

and brought wealth to the people.
You spoke truth
to people chained in cowardice
You broke the law
You revealed the injustice
of poverty
slavery
death by decay.
You preach heroism
and give castrate slaves their manhood.
They cry out, "Enough suffering,"
and you heal them,
feeding desire.
to cure anemic hearts
These slaves were content
with their labor, but
you showed the way
to fame
through skill
You have nurtured this longing
for self-rule
everywhere
you sowed the seed ..

But, can a rabbit do a lion't work ?
Will you live to see it done ?
I will sh-sh-shoot you down,
stab the heart of discontent.
I will show you what wisdom is,

you'll find it
deep in prison.
Who can defy me ?
'I
will
have
revenge !

Chidambaram Pillai's Reply

In our land
we can no longer be slaves,
asleep.
We are no longer afraid.

On this earth
injustice multiplies
with impunity.
Does God have eyes ?
Will he not see ?

We will sing
Vande Matharam
Until life passes from us
To the motherland we sacrifice
ourselves
in adoration.
Is it lowly for a living thing
to worship its only mother ?
Is that so disgraceful ?
Tell me :

Is our wealth stolen from us,
exploited
every minute of the day ?
Should we continue
to die
sobbing silently to ourselves
forever

Or is life so sweet
we dare not risk it
for rebirth in freedom ?

We are four-hundred million
Are we dogs ?
or children of dogs ?
Is it only you
who are human ?

Sir, do I speak justly
or is all this mere
obstinacy ?
Is it a sin to love freedom
until death ?
Can you call this
worship of anger ?
It is a crime to end our suffering ?
There is hatred in that ?
We have learned
the only way is unity.
That

"INDIA FOR THE INDIANS"*

(M.A. Jinnah)

In presiding over the All India Moslem League held at Lucknow in 1916, the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah spoke as under :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—No mere conventional words are needed on my part to express my deep thanks for the great privilege you have conferred on me by selecting me as President of the Ninth Annual Sessions of the All-India Moslem League. The honour is the highest in the gift of the Moslem community, to which those alone may aspire, who have given freely of their thought and time to the service of the communal cause. I am fully sensible of how little I have done to deserve such distinction, nor could I have the presumption to desire it with such a clear sense of my own unworldness. This choice, however, has come to me in the nature of a mandate from my community and in such cases individual considerations cannot and must not stand in the way of the Larger Will. I accept the great and heavy responsibilities of the position only in the belief that I can unreservedly count on your sympathy, zeal and ready co-operation in the great task that lies before us.

As President of the Bombay Presidency Provincial Conference, which was held at Ahmedabad only a few weeks ago, I have had to make a pronouncement ; but at the time I accepted the honour of presiding over the Conference, I did not know

From M.A. Jinnah : *Speeches and writings*) 1912-1917, edited and Published by Ganesh & Co., (Madras : 1918) pp. 21-54.

that I should have this unique honour and responsibility of expressing my views as your President again within so short a time Much of the ground was covered by me in that speech of mine I do not now wish to deal with many great and burning questions and problems that affect India in its internal administration They will, no doubt, be placed before you in the form of resolutions which will be submitted by the speakers in charge of them for your deliberation and consideration At the present moment the attention of the country at large is entirely concentrated and solely rivetted on the War and what will happen after the War I have therefore, decided mainly to deal with the situation in my Presidential address on those lines, and I will endeavour to place before you my humble views for your consideration, at the same time hoping and trusting that my feeble voice may reach those who hold the destinies of India in their hands

ANNUAL STOCK-TAKING

In this great annual meeting of representative Musalmans from all parts of India, who have come to deliberate and take counsel together on the large and important issues that govern our destiny in this land it will not be out of place to take a wide survey of the conditions in which our lot is cast This is primarily the time for annual stock—taking, for testing our position in the light of the experience of the past year, for an intelligent preparation of ways and means for meeting the demands of the future, and above all, for refreshing, so to speak, the ideals that feed the springs of our faith, hope and endeavour This I take to be the fundamental object for which the annual sessions of political bodies like the All India Moslem League are held The circumstances however, in which we meet today, *are exceptional and mark a new epoch in the history of our* country All that is great and inspiring in the common affairs of men, for which the noblest and most valiant of mankind have lived and wrought and suffered in all ages and all climes, is now moving India out of its depths The whole country is awakening to the call of its destiny and is scanning the new horizons with eager hope. A new spirit of earnestness, confi-

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dence and resolution is aborad in the land. In all directions are visible the stirrings of a new life. The Musalmans of India would be false to themselves and the traditions of their past, had they not shared to the full the new hope that is moving India's patriotic sons today, or had they failed to respond to the call of their country. Their gaze, like that of their Hindu fellow-countrymen, is fixed on the future.

But gentlemen of the All-India Moslem League, remember that the gaze of your community and of the whole country is at this moment fixed on you. The decisions that you may take in this historic Hall, and at this historic Sessions of the League, will go forth with all the force and weight that can legitimately be claimed by the chosen leaders and representatives of 70 millions of Indian Musalmans. On the nature of those decisions will depend in a large measure the fate of India's future—of India's unity and of our common ideals and aspirations for constitutional freedom. The moment for decision has arrived. The alternatives are clear and unmistakable. The choice lies in our hands.

THE WAR

The future historian, while chronicling the cataclysms and convulsions of these times, will not fail to note the conjunction of events of boundless influence and scope that have made the fortunes of India so largely depend on the united will and effort of this generation. These events have, of course, flowed from the world-shaking crisis into which Europe was plunged in August 1914. What this dark period has meant in accumulated agony, suffering, destruction and loss to mankind, is beyond any standard of computation known to history. With the unfolding of this appealing tragedy have emerged into light, stark, elemental forces of savagery that lay behind a bright and glittering mask of "Kultur," which threaten to sweep away the very foundations of civilised life and society. The issues which are in death grips on the battle-fields of three continents, go to the roots of the principles on which the fabric of modern civilization has been reared by the energy and toil of countless

generations Freedom, justice, right and public law are pitted against despotism, aggression anarchy and brute force and the result of this deadly combat will decide the future of mankind—whether the end will come with a stricken and shattered world lying bleeding and helpless under the iron heel of the tyrant, with the whole of humanity stripped bare of its hope and faith and reduced to bondage, or whether the hideous nightmare will pass away and the world redeemed by the blood of the heroic defenders of civilisation and freedom regain its heritage of peace and enter a period of vaster and glorious synthesis and reconstruction

INDIA'S LOYALTY

These are tremendous isueds and the blood of every Indian with his usual gift of quick moral perception is stirred by the feeling that he is a citizen of an empire which has staked ist all in a supreme endeavour to vindicate the cause of freedom and of right What India has given in this fellowship of service and sacrifice has been a free and spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British nation as well as a necessary contribution to the strength of the fighting forces of civilisation, which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically orgenised barbarism In this willing service of the people of India, there has been no distinction of class or creed It has come from every part of the land and from every community with equal readiness and devotion In this service there has been no cold, calculating instinct at work It has sprung from a clear, compelling sense of duty and moral sympathy and not from any commercial desire to make a safe political investment India's loyalty to the Empire has no price of itself

RECONSTRUCTION

After such colossal upheavals as this War, the world cannot quietly slip back into its old grooves of life and thought. Much of what the existing generations have known in social and political arrangements is visibly passing away under a deluge of blood and fire The thick crust of materialism and pampered

case, the inertia of habit, the cramping weight of convention and of institution that have outlived their use, have fallen off from the lives of the great Western Democracies under the stress of this great struggle for their existence. They have been thrown back on themselves. In the hot furnace of elemental passions, the trifles are being burnt to ashes, the gold is being made pure of dross ; and when the terrible ordeal has passed, the liberated soul will feel almost primeval ease and power to plan, to build and to create afresh ampler and freer conditions of life for the future. The range of choice would be unlimited and the need for bold constructive efforts in various directions vital and urgent. Europe after the War will call for a statesmanship of a new order to undertake the gigantic tasks of peace. The greatest victory for freedom will have to be conserved. Free nations will have to learn to live freely and intensely. Freedom itself will have to be organised, its bounds made vaster and its powers of self-preservation strengthened and increased.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM

These tasks have peculiar urgency and significance in the case of the vast and various communities comprising the British Empire. And among the complex series of problems relating to the Imperial reconstruction awaiting British statemanship, none is of more anxious moment than the problem of reconstruction in India. I need not set about to discuss in detail the Indian problem in all its bearings. It has been discussed threadbare by all manner of men from every conceivable angle of vision. However, there are two cardinal facts about the Indian situation which practical statesmanship will have to take into account while addressing itself to the study of the problem and its adequate solution. There is first, the great fact of the British Rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration, which, while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction, and decision, has maintained for many decades unbroken peace and order in the land, administered even-handed justice, brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thought and ideals of the West and thus led to the birth of a

great and living movement for the intellectual and moral *regeneration of the people* Here I may quote from the speech of H E Lord Chelmsford delivered in Calcutta the other day 'The growing self respect and self consciousness of her (India's) people are plants that we ourselves have watered ' Secondly, there is the fact of the existence of a powerful unifying process—the most vital and interesting result of Western education in the country—which is creating out of the diverse mass of race and creed a new India fast growing to unity of thought, purpose and outlook responsive to new appeals of territorial patriotism and nationality, stirring with new energy and aspiration and becoming daily more purposeful and eager to recover its birth right to direct its own affairs and govern itself To put it briefly, we *have a powerful and efficient Bureaucracy of British officers* responsible only to the British Parliament, governing with *methods known as benevolent despotism a people that have* grown fully conscious of their destiny and are peacefully struggling for political freedom This is the Indian problem in a nutshell The task of British statesmanship is to find a prompt, peaceful, and enduring solution of this problem

If it were possible to isolate the tangled group of social and political phenomena and subject it to a thorough investigation by reason unalloyed by sentiment it would be infinitely easier to find a safe and sure path for Indian political development and advance But, as you know pure unalloyed reason is not the chief motive power in human things In the affairs of our common secular existence, we have to deal not with angels but with men, with passions, prejudices, personal idiosyncrasies, innumerable cross currents of motive, of desire, hope, fear and hate The Indian problem has all such formidable complications in its texture We have, for instance the large and trained body of English officials who carry on the administration of the country and exercise power over the wellbeing and happiness of the teeming millions of this land They are most of them hard-working efficient and conscientious public servants, and yet they are beset by the prejudices and limitations that mark them as a class apart They are naturally conservative, have a rooted horror of bold administrative changes or constitutional experi-

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ments, are reluctant to part with power or associate Indians freely in the government of the country. Their main concern appears to be to work the machine smoothly, content to go through their common round from day to day; and they feel bored and worried and upset by the loud, confident and unsettling accents of New India. All this is eminently human ; but it also means an enormous aggravation of the difficulties in the path of final settlement. It means in actual experience the growth of a tremendous class-interest, the interest of the governing class—as distinct from, if not wholly opposed to, the interest of the governed. It is in fact, the existence of this vast, powerful and by no means silent "interest" that explains the origin and wide currency of certain shallow, bastard and desperate political maxims, which are flung into the face of Indian patriots at the least provocation. They are familiar enough to all students of Indian affairs. As a sample, we may take the following :—

(1) Democratic institutions cannot thrive in the environment of the East. (Why ? Were democratic institutions unknown to the Hindus and Mahomedans in the past ? What was the village Panchayat ? What are the history, the traditions, the literature and the precepts of Islam ? There are no people in the world who are more damocratic even in their religion than the Musalmans.)

(3) The only form of Government suitable to India is autocracy, tempered by English (European) efficiency and character. (All nations have had had to go through the experience of despotic or autocratic government at one time or the other in the history of the world. Russia was liberated to a certain extent only a few years ago. France and England had to struggle before they conquered the autocracy. Is India to remain under the heel of a novel form of autocracy in the shape of bureaucracy for all time to come, when Japan and even China have set up constitutional Governments on the democratic line of Great Britain and America ?)

(3) (a) The interests of the educated classes are opposed tc those the Indian masses and

(b) The former would oppress the latter if the strong protecting hand of the British officials were withdrawn

This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses, most of us springing from the middle classes are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred, that the masses require protection at the *hands of the English* Officials, between whom and the people there is nothing in common, that our interests are opposed to those of the masses in what respect, it is never pointed out—and that, therefore, the monopoly of the administrative control should continue in the hands of non Indian officials This insidious suggestion, which is so flippantly made, is intended to secure the longest possible lease for the bureaucracy and to enjoy their monopoly But it can neither stand the light of facts, nor the analysis of truth One has only to look at the past records of the Congress for more than a quarter of a century and of the All India Moslem League to dismiss this specious plea The educated people of this country have shown greater anxiey and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century)

(4) Indians are unfit to govern themselves (With this last question I propose to deal later in my speech)

These are a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulge freely and provocatively when the least menace arises to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority and power

INTERNAL SITUATION

Again, if we turn to the internal situation in India we meet with a set of social, ethnological and cultural conditions unparalleled in recorded history We have a vast continent inhabited by 315 millions of people sprung from various racial stocks inheriting various cultures and professing a variety of religious creeds This stupendous human group, thrown to-

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gether under one physical and political environment, is still in various stages of intellectual and moral growth. All this means a great diversity of outlook, purpose and endeavour. Every Indian Nationalist who has given close and anxious thought to the problem of nation-building in India, fully realises the magnitude of his task. He is not afraih of admitting frankly that difficulties exist in his path. Such difficulties have no terrors for him. They are already vanishing before the forces which are developing in the Spirit.

INDIA FOR THE INDIANS

Well, these are the broad aspects of the Indian problem and they wili give you a fairly general idea of the obstacles that stand in the way of a full and speedy realisation of the ideals, of Indian patriots. We have powerfully organised body of conservative "interest" on the one hand, and a lack of complete organisation of the national will and intelligence on the other. There is however, one fundamental fact, that stands out clear and unmistakable, which no sophistry of argument and no pseudoscientfic theories about colour and race can disguise. Amid the clash of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords, no cooi-headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truism that *Indis is in the first and the last resort jor the Indians.* Be the time near or distant, the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a self-governing nation. No force in the world can rob them of their destiny and thwart the purposes of Providence. British statesmanship has not become bankrupt or utterly bereft of its faculty of clear political perception ; and it is, therefore, bound to recognise that the working of the law of national development in India, which came to with the British Rule itself, and is daily gathering momentum under the pressure of the world-forces of freedom and progress, must sooner or later produce a change in the principles and methods of Indian governance. It is inevitable. Then why fight against it, why ignore it, why should not rather there be honest, straightforward efforts to clear the way of doubts, suspicions and senseless antagonisms to that glorious consummation ? Leaving aside hair-brained twaddle

of the tribe of scientific peddlers who love to sit in judgement on the East and ape political philosophy, no man with the least pretensions to commonsense, can afford to maintain that the Indian humanity is stamped with a ruthless psychology and *cramped for ever within the prison of its skull* If the Indians are not the Pariahs of Nature, if they are not out of the pale or operation of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and can think and plan and organise together for common needs of the present and *for common hopes of the future, then the only future for them is* self-government i e the attainment of the power to apply through properly organised channels, the common national will and intelligence to the needs and tasks of their national existence The cant of unfitness must die The laws of Nature and the *doctrines of common humanity are not different in the East*

OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

It is a great relief to think that someof the responsible British statesmen have defenitely pronounced in recent years that India's ambition to attain self-Government is neither a catastrophe nor a sin Indeed, that great and sympathetic Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, whose memory will always be cherished with affection by the people of this country, for the first time recognised the legitimacy of that vital Indian aspiration Other indications have not been wanting of late, which go to show that our national dream and purpose is gaining the stamp of even official approval There is however, a world of difference between a theoretical approval of an ideal and its practical application. The supreme duty of the men that lead the forces of Indian progress is to insist that India's rulers should definitely set the ideal before them as the ultimate goal to be attained within reasonable time and should accelerate the pace accordingly All our difficulties now arise from the steady reluctance on the part of Indian officialdom to keep this end defienitely in view and move faster Mere sympathy divorced from resolute and active progressive policy can hardly ameliorate the situation Honeyed words alone cannot suffice We may congratulate each other about a changed "angle of vision" and yet remain

where we are till doomsday. The time for definite decision and a bold move forward has arrived. The vital question to-day is :—Is India fit to be free and to what extent ? There can be no shelving of the issue at this juncture. It must be settled one way or the other. If she is not fit to-day, she had got to be made fit for self-government. This I maintain, is no less a duty and responsibility of the Government than the people themselves.

TEST OF FITNESS

Is India fit for freedom ? We, who are present here today, know fully well that from the Indian standpoint there can be but one answer. Our critics would probably challenge our conviction. Our only reply to them would be to go forward and put the matter to the proof. After all, what is the test of fitness ? If we turn to history, we find thai in the past only such people have been declared to have been fit for freedom who fought for it, and attained it. We are living in different times, Peace has its victories. We are fighting and can only fight constitutional battles. This peaceful struggle is not and will not be wanting in the quality of vigour and sacrifiee, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India.

MOVEMENT FOR UNITY

But apart from the numerous other considerations that have repeatedly been urged in support of the claims of India to responsible and representative form of Government, the one that has grown to be of infinitely larger weight and urgency is the living and vigorous spirit of patriotism and national self-consciousness which is chafing under irksome restraints and is seeking wider and legitimate outlets, for service and self-expression. The strength and volume of this spirit, this pentup altruistic feeling and energy of youth, can be easily realised by those who have their finger on the pulse of the country. The most significant and hopeful aspect of this spirit is that it has

taken its rise from a new born movement in the direction of national unity which has brought Hindus and Musalmans together involving and brotherly service for the common cause Bombay had the good fortune to see the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League meet for the first time in the same city last December These simultaneous Sessions were brought about with no little labour, anxiety and trouble I do not wish to go into past controversy, but I venture to say that the Session of the All India Muslim League at Bombay will go down to posterity as peculiarly interesting in its results The so called opponents of ours although for the time being they caused the utmost anxiety and individual risks-which, after all, do not count in a national movement have, I cannot help saying rendered the greatest service to our cause Their unjust attitude served only to stiffen the back of the community The League rose Phoenixlike, stronger, more solidified and determined in its ideals and aspirations with added strength of resolution in carrying out its programme And to day your historic city of Lucknow, the centre of Musalman culture and intellect where three years ago the All India Muslim League laid down our cherished ideal of self Government under the aegis of the British Crown, is witnessing the simultaneous Sessions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League once more Indeed, the person who fails to read in the Hindu Muslim rapproachment within the last few years the first great sign of the birth of united India has little knowledge of the political conditions of a few years ago and has no business to talk of India's future.

IDEALS OF THE LEAGUE

I need hardly say that the Hindu Muslim question had hitherto lain as a colossal riddle athwart the numerous unifying forces that make for the evolution of a common Indian Nationality The new temper that we witness today is the measure of the change that has happily come over Hindu Muslim relations What this change really signifies can only be judged by a reference to the state of things that obtained only a few years ago, when mutual distrust and suspicion were rampant and

temptation to crush the weak and yet would not quail before the aggression of the strong, who can rise above the petty preoccupations of the day to the higher plane of devotion and service which alone can give to a people, faith, hope, freedom and power.

SCHEME OF REFORMS

With the satisfactory solution of the most formidable problem that stood in the path of Indian progress towards political co-operation and unity, our constitutional battle may be said to have been half won already. The united Indian demand, based on the actual needs of the country and framed with due regard to time and circumstances, must eventually prove irresistible. It must also be recognised that those responsible for the Government of India have already shown a disposition to treat the existing grievances of the people in a broader spirit of understanding and sympathy. With the restoration of peace the Indian problem will have to be dealt with on bold and generous lines and India will have to be granted her birthright as a free, responsible and equal member of the British Empire. How this change is to be effected and what are to be the lines of development and methods of solution, are matters that have been fully occupying the thought of Indian publicists for the past two years and authoritative schemes of re-adjustment have already been formulated and placed before the Government by the nineteen elected representatives of the Imperial Council. You are aware that a committee of the All-India Muslim League was formed last year and was authorised to draw up a scheme of reform in consulation with the Committee of the Indian National Congress. That scheme is ready and will, at this Session, be, submitted to you for your consideration and judgement.

A NEW BILL

After you have adopted the scheme of reforms you should see that the Congress and the League take concerted measures to have a Bill drafted by constitutional lawyers as an amending Bill to the Government of India Act which embodies the present

constitution of our country This Bill when ready should be adopted by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League and a deputation of leading and representative men from both the bodies should be appointed to see that the Bill is introduced into the British Parliament and adopted For that purpose we should raise as large a fund as possible to supply the sinews of war until our aim and object are fulfilled

POSITION OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE

The first and the foremost question that requires to be put at rest, is that the position of India in the Empire should be defined in the most unequivocal terms It should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that self Government is not a mere distant goal they may be attained at some future indefenite time, but that self Government for India is the definite aim and object the Government to be given to the people within a reasonable time That should be the aim and object of the reconstruction and reformation of the present constitution of the Government of India and immediate steps should be taken after the War to introduce the reforms towards that end in view, both by the Government and the people

IMPERIAL PARTNERSHIP

Reading the signs of the times it appears that the claims of the Overseas Dominions, such as Canada Australia and south Africa, viz , to allow them a voice in the declaration of war and the making of peace and the Imperial Foreign Policy, if they are to bear the responsibilities of the Empire, cannot well be resisted, and it might follow that an Imperial Parliament may be constructed and established, England, Scotland and Ireland having their separate parliaments for the purpose of managing their *internal and domestic affairs, such as the Dominions already* have Sir Joseph Ward, addressing the meeting of the Insurance Institute at Gresham College only last month said that "in the future reconstruction of the Empire there could not be any interference with local authority and, though an Imperial Parliament was a long way off, they might now work for some effec

tive Imperial Council and that before an Organic Parliament was possible, there must be devolution in Britain to pave the way for a federal legislature overseas. The Dominions had no right even to a minority voice as to whether the nation should go to war or what the peace terms should be." He quoted Mr. Asquith's speech at the 1911 Imperial Conference in which the Prime Minister stated that "an Imperial Parliament Scheme would impair the authority of the British Parliament." "Since then," Sir Joseph said, "there had been a great evolution of opinion on the subject. Mr. Bonar Law had declared as a result of the war the time was coming when the overseas would share in the Government of the Empire with Britain. He hoped that before the War ended some *modus vivendi* would be established." In the political reconstruction India, the largest part of the Empire, cannot possibly be allowed to continue a dependency, as an adjunct to England, Scotland or Ireland or to be ruled and governed by the Dominions. Hitherto the responsibility, the control and the supervision of India has been vested in Great Britain. The question naturally arises what will be the position of India if an Imperial Parliament with full representation of the Dominions is constituted? Is India to have new and additional masters? Is India to be ruled jointly by England, Scotland, Ireland and the Dominions? Are we to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament and to be thus ruled and to be governed by the Colonies? Are we not to have a status or *locus standi* in this Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opinion of the entire educated people of this country that India will never allow hereself to be relegated to such an intolerable position. Indeed, she does not want a change of masters, nor additional masters. If an Imperial Parliament, such as indicated above, is established, India's right should be recognized and her voice in that Imperial Parliament must be fully and properly secured and represented by her own sons in the Councils of the Empire.

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SOCIAL EVOLUTION AND "WORLD STATE"

With more than two thousand works so far having come out about Aurobindo himself having a multitude of works to his own credit, no one who is serious about studying the Indian thinkers can afford to ignore him Born in Calcutta in 1872, and educated first in Darjeeling at a Convent School and later, from the age of seven till he was twenty one, in England, at St Paul and Cambridge successively, Aurobindo got the best education according to all existing standards But it was during his life as a Professor in the Baroda College that he learned Bengali, his own mother tongue, and Sanskrit, and thus started imbibing the riches of his own native culture But once saturated with his own culture, he spent the rest of his life, till he died in 1950, devoting all his time and energy in trying to synthesize the best in the Eastern and the Western cultures

During his brief political career lasting roughly 10 years, he played three major roles, viz as a critic of Indian politics as an organizer of the nationalist movement, and as a political theorist When in 1910, at the age of 38, he retired from all active public life to a quiet life of meditation and purely intellectual activities, he continued to work as a political theorist And in fact, it is during this period that he produced his two major works on politics, viz *The Ideal of Human Unity*, and *The Human Cycle* These were originally articles written during the period between 1912 1916, and later published in Book form by the Sri Aurobindo Library Society, New York,

in 1950. The selections included here are from these two works.

The main argument of Aurobindo's political philosophy is that political evolution which first passes through a spiritualistic nationalism, will in the end out of a historical necessity, lead to the formation of a World State based on federal principles and aiming at co-operative socialism.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION AND "WORLD STATE"*

(Sri Aurobindo)

The social evolution of the human race necessarily a development of the relations between three constant factors, individuals, communities of various sorts and mankind Each seeks its own fulfilment and satisfaction, but each compelled to develop them not independently but in relation to the others The first natural aim of the individual must be his inner growth and fullness aud its expression in his outer life , but this he can only accomplish through his relations with other individuals to the various kinds of community, religious, social, cultural and political, to which he belongs and to the idea and need of humanity at large The community must seek its own fulfilment, but whatever its strength of mass consciousness and collective organisation, it can accomplish its growth only through its individuals and to humanity at large Mankind as a whole has at present no consciously organised common life ; it has only an inchoate organization determined much more by circumstances than by human intelligence and will And yet the idea and the fact of our common human existence, nature, and destiny has always exercised its strong influence on human thought and action One of the chief preoccupations of ethics and religion has been obligations of man to mankind. The pressure of the large movements and fluctuations of the race has always affected the destinies of its separate communities

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*Aurobindo *The Ideal of Human Unity*, Chs XVII, XXII , *The Human Cycle*, Ch IV Sections are from Kewal Singh (ed) *Sri Aurobindo on Social Sciences and Humanities for the New Age*, Orient Longman (New Delhi 1962) pp 119-27, 14 -146.

and there has been a constant return pressure of separate communities, social, cultural, political, religious, to expand and include, if it might be, the totality of the race. And if or when the whole of humanity arrives at an organised common life and seeks by means of the relation of this whole to its parts and by the aid of the expanding life of individual human beings and of the communities whose progress constitutes the larger terms of the life of the race.

Nature works always through these three terms and none of them can be abolished. She starts from the visible manifestation of the one and the many, from the totality and its constituent units and creates intermediary unities between the two without which there can be no full development either of the totality or of the units. In the life-type itself she creates always the three terms of genus, species and individual. But while in the animal life she is satisfied to separate rigidly and group summarily, in the human she strives, on the contrary, to override the divisions she had made and lead the whole kind to the sense of unity and the realisation of oneness. Man's communities are formed not so much by the instinctive herding together of a number of individuals of the same genus or species as by local association, community of interests and community of ideas ; and these limits tend always to be overcome in the widening of human thoughts and sympathies brought about by the closer intermingling of races, nations, interests, ideas, cultures. Still, if overcome in their separatism, they are not abolished in their fact, because they repose on an essential principle of nature,-diversity in unity. Therefore, it would seem that the ideal or ultimate aim of Nature must be to develop the individuals to their full capacity, to develop the community and all communities to the full expression of that many sided existence and potentiality which their differences were created to express, and to evolve the united life of mankind to its full common capacity and satisfaction, not by suppression of the fullness of life of the individual or the smaller commonality, but by full advantage taken of the diversity which they develop. This would seem the soundest way to increase the total riches of mankind and throw them into a fund of common possession and enjoyment.

The united progress of mankind would thus be realised by a general principle of interchange and assimilation between individual and again between individual and community between community and community and again between the smaller commonalty and the totality of mankind, between the common life and consciousness of mankind and its freely developing communal and individual constituents As a matter of fact, although this interchange is what Nature even now contrives to bring about to a certain extent, life is far from being governed by such a principle of free and harmonious mutuality There is a struggle, an opposition of ideas, impulses and interests, an attempt of each to profit by various kinds of war on the others, by a kind of intellectual, vital, physical robbery and theft or even by the suppression, devouring, digestion of its fellows rather than by a free and rich interchange This is ths aspect of life which humanity in its highest thought and aspiration knows that it has to transcend, but has either not yet discovered the right means or else has not had the force to apply it It now endeavours instead to get rid of strife and the disorders of growth by a strong subordination or servitude of the life of of the individual to the life of the community and, logically it will be led to the attempt to get rid of strife between communities by a strong subordination or servitude of the life of the community to the united and organised life of the human race To remove freedom in order to get rid of disorder, strife and waste, to remove diversity in order to get rid of separatism and jarring complexities is the impulse of order and regimentation by which the arbitrary rigidity of the intellectual reason seeks to substitute its straight line for the difficult curves of the process of Nature

But freedom is as necessary to life as law and regime, diversity as necessary as unity to our true completeness Existence is only one in its essence and totality, in its play it is necessarily multiform Absolute uniformity would mean the cessation of life while, on the other hand, the vigour of the pulse of life may be measured by the richness of the diversites which it creates At the same time, while diversity is essential for power and fruitfulness of life, unity is necessary for its order, arrange-

ment and stability. Unity we must create, but not necessarily uniformity. If man could realise a perfect spiritual unity, no sort of uniformity would be necessary ; for the utmost play of diversity would be securely possible on that foundation. If again he could realise a secure, clear, firmly held unity in the principle, a rich, even an unlimited diversity in its application might be possible without any fear of disorder, confusion or strife. Because he cannot do either of these things he is tempted always to substitute uniformity for real unity. While the life-power in man demands diversity, his reason favours uniformity. It prefers it because uniformity given him a strong and ready illusion of unity in place of the real oneness at which it is so much more difficult to arrive. It prefers it secondly, because uniformity makes easy for him the otherwise difficult business of law, order and regimentation. It prefers it too because the impulse of the mind in man is to make every considerable diversity an excuse for strife and separation and therefore uniformity seems to him the one secure and easy way to unification. Moreover, uniformity in any one direction or department of life helps him to economise his energies for development in other directions. If he can standardise his economic existence and escape from its problem, he is likely to have more leisure and room to attend to his intellectual and cultural growth. Or again, if he standardises his whole social existence and rejects its further possible problems, he is likely to have peace and a free mind to attend more energetically to his spiritual developments. Even here, however, the complex unity of existence asserts its truth : in the end man's total intellectual and cultural growth suffers by social immobility, by any restriction or proverty of his economic life ; the spiritual existence of the race, if it attains to remote heights, weakness at last in its richness and continued sources of vivacity when it depends on a too standardised and regimented *society* ; *inertia* from below rises and touches even the summits.

Owing to the defects of our mentality uniformity has to a certain extent to be admitted and sought after, still the real aim of Nature is a true unity supporting a rich *diversity*. *Her secret* is clear enough from the fact that though she moulds on one general plan, she insists always on an infinite variation, The plan

of the human form is one, yet no two human beings are precisely alike in their physical characteristics Human nature is one in its constituents and its grand lines, but no two human beings are precisely alike in their temperament, characteristics and psychological substance All life is one in its essential plan and principle , even the plant is a recognisable brother of the animal, but the unity of like admits and encourages an infinite variety of types The natural variation of human communities from each other proceeds on the same plan as the variation of individuals , each develops its own character, variant principle, natural law This variation and fundamental following of its own separate law is necessary to its life, but it is equally necessary to the healthy total life of mankind For the principle of variation does not prevent free interchange, does not oppose the enrichment of all from a common stock and of the common stock by all which we have seen to be the ideal principle of existence , on the contrary, without a secure variation such interchange and mutual assimilation would be out of the question Therefore we see that in this harmony between our unity and diversity lies the secret of life , Nature insists equally in all her works upon unity and upon variation We shall find that a real spiritual and psychological unity can allow a free diversity and dispense with all but the minimum of uniformity which is sufficient to embodythe community of nature and of essential principle Until we can arrive at that perfection the method of uniformity has to be applied, but we must not over apply it on peril of discouraging life in the very sources of its power, richness and sane natural self unfolding

The quarrel between law and liberty stands on the same ground and moves to the same solution The diversity, the variation must be a free variation Nature does not manufacture does not impose a pattern or a rule from outside , she impels life to grow from within and to assert its own natural law and development modified only by its commerce with its environ ment All liberty, individual national, religious, social, ethical takes its ground upon this fundamental principle of our existence By liberty we mean the freedom to obey the law of our being to grow to our natural self fulfilment, to find out

naturally and freely our harmony with our environment. The dangers and disadvantages of liberty, the disorder, strife, waste and confusion to which its wrong use leads are indeed obvious. But they arise from the absence or defect of the sense of unity between individual and individual, between community and community, which pushes them to assert themselves at the expense of each other instead of growing by mutual help and interchange and to assert freedom for themselves in the very act of encroaching on the free development of their fellows. If a real, a spiritual and psychological unity, were effectuated, liberty would have no perils and disadvantages ; for free individuals enamoured of unity would be compelled by themselves, by their own need, to accommodate perfectly their own growth with the growth of their fellows and would not feel themselves complete except in the free growth of others. Because of our present imperfection and the ignorance of our, mind and will, law and regimentation have to be called in to be called in to restrain and to compel from outside. The facile advantages of a strong law and compulsion are obvious, but equally great are the disadvantages. Such perfection as it succeeds in creating tends to be mechanical and even the order it imposes turns out to be artificial and liable to break down if the yoke is loosened or the restraining grasp withdrawn. Carried too far, an imposed order discourages the principle of natural growth which is the true method of life and may even slay the capacity for real growth. We repress and overstandardise life at our peril ; by overregimentation we crush Nature's initiative and habit of intuitive self-adaptation. Dwarfed or robbed of elasticity, the devitalised individuality, even while it seems outwardly fair and symmetrical, perishes from within. Better anarchy than the long continuance of a law which is not our own or which our real nature cannot assimilate. And all repressive or preventive law is only a makeshift, a substitute for true law which must develop from within and be not a check on liberty, but its outward image and visible expression. Human society progresses really and vitally in proportion as law becomes the child of freedom ; it will reach its perfection when, man having learned to know and become spiritually one with his

fellow man, the spontaneous law of his society exists only as the outward mould of his self governed inner liberty.

WHAT IS NATION SOUL

THE primal law and purpose of the individual life is to seek its own self development Consciously or half consciously or with an obscure unconscious grouping it strives always and rightly strives at self formulation,—to find itself, to discover within itself the law and power of its own being and to fulfil it This aim in it is fundamental, right, inevitable because, even after all qualifications have been made and caveasts entered, the individual is not merely the ephemeral physical creature a form of mind and body that aggregates and dissolves, but a being, a living power of the eternal Truth, a self manifesting spirit. In the same way the primal law and purpose of a society, community or nation is to seek its own self fulfilment, it strives rightly to find itself, to become aware within itself of the law and power of its own being and to fulfil it as perfectly as possible to realise all its potentialities to live its own self revealing life The reason is the same, for this too is a being a living power of the eternal Truth, a self manifestation of the cosmic Spirit and it is there to express and fulfil in its own way and to the degree of its capacities the special truth and power and meaning of the cosmic Spirit that is within it The nation or society, like the individual, has a body, an organic life, a moral and aesthetic temperament a developing mind and a soul behind all these signs and powers for the same of which they exist One may say even that, like the individual, it essentially is a soul rather than has one, it is a group soul that, once having attained to a separate distinctness must become more and more self conscious and find itself more and more fully as it develops its corporate action and mentality and its organic self expressive life

The parallel is just at every turn because it is than a parallel it is a real identity of nature There is only this difference that the group soul is much more complex because it has a great number of partly self conscious mental individuals for

constituents of its physical being instead of an association of merely vital subconscious cells. At first, for this very reason, it seems more crude, primitive and artificial in the forms it takes; for it has a more difficult task before it, it needs a longer time to find itself, it is more fluid and less easily organic. When it does succeed in getting out of the stage of vaguely conscious self-formation, its first definite self-consciousness is objective much more than subjective. And so far as it is subjective, it is apt to be superficial or loose and vague. This objectiveness comes out very strongly in the ordinary emotional conception of the nation which centres round its geographical, its most outward and material aspect, the passion for the land in which we dwell, the land of our fathers, the land of our birth, *country patria, father land, janmabhumi.* When we realise that the land is only the shell of the body, though a very living shell indeed and potent in its influences on the nation, when we began to feel that its more real body is the men and women who compose the nation-unit, a body ever changing, yet always the same like that of the individual man, we are on the way to a truly subjective communal consciousness. For then we have some chance of realising that even the physical being of the society is a subjective power, not a mere objective existence. Much more is it in its inner self a great corporate soul with all the possibilities and dangers of the soul-life.

The objective view of society has reigned throughout the historical period of humanity in the West; it has been sufficiently strong though not absolutely engrossing in the East. Rulers, people and thinkers alike have understood by their national existence a political status, the extent of their borders, their economic well-being and expansion, their laws, institutions and the working of these things. For this reason political and economic motives have everywhere predominated on the surface and history has been a record of their operations and influence. The one subjective and psychological force consciously admitted and with difficulty deniable has been that of the individual. The predominance is so great that most modern historians and some political thinkers have concluded that objective necessities are by law of Nature the only really determining forces, all else

is result or superficial accidents of these forces Scientific history has been conceived as it must be a record and appreciation of the environmental motives of political action, of the play of economic forces and developments and the course of institutional evolution The few who still valued the psychological element have kept their eye fixed on individuals and are not far from conceiving of history as a mass of biographies The truer and more comprehensive science of the future will see that these conditions only apply to the imperfectly self conscious period of national development Even then there was always a greater subjective force working behind individuals, policies, economic movements and the change of institutions but it worked for the most part of subconsciously, more as a subliminal self than as a conscious mind It is when this subconscious power of the group soul comes to the surface that nations begin to enter into possession of their subjective selves, they set about getting, however vaguely or imperfectly, at their souls

WORLD UNION OR WORLD STATE

THIS, then, in principle is the history of the growth of the State It is history of strict unification by the development of a central authority and of growing uniformity in administration, legislation, social and economic life and culture and the chief means of culture, education and language In all, the central authority becomes more and more the determining and regulating power The process culminates by the transformation of this governing sole authority or sovereign power from the rule of the central executive man or the capable class into that of a body whose proposed function is to represent the thought and will of the whole community The change represents in principle an evolution from a natural and organic to a rational and mechanically organised state of society An intelligent centralised unification aiming at a perfect rational efficiency replaces a loose and natural unity whose efficiency is that of life developing with a certain spontaneity its organs and powers under the pressure of an inner impulse and the needs of the environment and the first conditions of existence A rational, ordered, strict uniformity replaces a loose oneness full of natural complexities and

variations. The intelligent will of the whole society expressed in a carefully thought-out law and ordered regulation replaces its natural organic will expressed in a mass of customs and institutions which have grown up as the result of its nature and temperament. In the last perfection of the State, a carefully devised, in the end a giant machinery productive and regulative, replaces the vigour and fertility of life with the natural simplicity of its great lines and obscure, confused, luxuriant complexity of its details. The State is the masterful but arbitrary and intolerant science and reason of man that successfully takes the place of the intuitions and evolutionary experimentations of Nature ; intelligent organistation replaces natural organism.

The unity of the human race by political and administrative means implies eventually the formation and organisation of a single World—State out of a newly-created, though still loose, natural organic unity of mankind. For the natural organic unity already exists, a unity of life, of involuntary association, of a closely interdependent existence of the constituent parts in which the life and the movements would have been impossible a hundred years ago. Continent has no longer a separate life from continent ; no nation can any longer isolate itself at will and live a separate existence. Science, commerce and rapid communications have produced a state of things in which the disparate masses of humanity, once living to themselves, have drawn together by a subtle process of unification into a single mass which has already a common vital and is rapidly forming a common mental existence. A great precipitating and transforming shock was needed which could make this subtle organic unity manifest and reveal the necessity and ceeate the will for a closer and organised union and this shock came with the Great War (of 1914-18). The idea of a World-State or world-union has been born not only in the speculating forecasting mind of the thinker, but in the consciousness of humanity out of the very necessity of this new common existence.

The World-State must now either be brought about by a mutual understanding or by the force of circumstances and a

series of new and disastrous shocks For *the old still prevailing* order of things was founded on circumstances and conditions which no longer exist A new order is demanded by the new conditions and, so long as it is not created, there will be a transitional era of continued trouble and recurrent disorders, inevitable crisis through which Nature will effect in her own violent way the working out of the necessity which she has evolved There may be in the process a maximum of loss and suffering through the clash of national and imperial egoisms or else a *minimum, if reason and goodwill prevail To that reason two alternative* possibilities and therefore two ideals present themselves, a World State founded upon the principle of centralisation and uniformity, a mechanical and formal unity, or a world union founded upon the principle of liberty and variation in a free and intelligent unity

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FACE TO FACE WITH AHIMSA

The writings of Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948) "The Father of the Nation" are a legion and his thinking is so nebulous as to be impossible to be summarized in a brief introduction, or even logically and consistently interpreted in any systematic way. At any rate any attempt at explaining his political philosophy has to deal with his concept of *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*.

Gandhi devised *Satyagraha* as a technique for social and political change, and it envisages several stages of winning over an opponent. The first is persuation through reason, the second *is persuasion through suffering, and finally there is the third* stage of persusion through non-violent coercion characterized by such tools as non-co-operation and civil disobedience. *In* his *satyagraha* tactic of social and political change, Gandhi incorporated the three *fundamental values he cherished best in life*, viz. truth, non-violence, and self-suffering (*satya*, *ahimsa*, and *tapas*).

For Gandhi *satyagraha* meant literally holding on to Truth and thus it came to be a Truth-force. The rationale for such an approach, he said, was that it excluded the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and therefore non-competent to punish.

In the selection included here, Gandhi describes his experiences in Champaran, in Bihar It is his claim that it was in Champaran that he had the first experience of the power of satyagraha and ahimsa as a political weapon

"FACE TO FACE WITH AHIMSA"*

(M. K. Gandhi)

Champaran is the land of King Janaka. Just as it abounds in mango groves, so used it to be full of indigo plantations until the year 1917. The Champaran tenant was bound by law to plant three out of every twenty parts of his land with indigo for his landlord. This system was known as the *tinkathia* system, as three *kathas* out of twenty (which make one acre) had to be planted with indigo.

I must confess that I did not then know even the name, much less the geographical position, of Champaran, and I had hardly any notion of Indigo plantations. I had seen packets of indigo, but little dreamed that it was grown and manufactured in Champaran at great hardship to thousands of agriculturists.

Rajkumar Shukla was one of the agriculturists who had been under this harrow, and he was filled with a passion to wash away the stain of indigo for the thousands who were suffering as he had suffered.

This man caught hold of me at Lucknow, where I had gone for the Congress of 1916. 'Vakil Babu will tell you everything about our distress,' he said, and urged me to go to Champaran. 'Vakil Babu' was none other than Babu Brajkishore Prasad, who became my esteemed co-worker in Champaran, and who is the soul of public work in Bihar. Rajkumar Shukla brought him

* M.K. Gandhi, An Autobiography, Navjivan Press, Ahmedabad, 1969, pp. 304-319.

to my tent He was dressed in a black alpaca *achkan* and trousers Brajkishore Babu failed then to make an impression on me I took it that he must be some vakil exploiting the simple agriculturists Having heard from him something of Champaran, I replied as was my wont 'I can give no opinion without seeing the condition with my own eyes You will please move the resolution in the Congress, but leave me free for the present' Rajkumar Shukla of course wanted some help from the Congress Babu Brajkishore Prasad moved the resolution, expressing sympathy for the people of Champarn, and it was unanimously passed

Rajkumar Shukla was glad, but far from satisfied He wanted me personally to visit Champaran and witness the miseries of the ryots there I told him that I would include Champaran in the tour which I had contemplated and give it a day or two 'One day will be enough' said he, 'and you will see things with your own eyes'

From Lucknow I went to Cawnpore Rajkumar Shukla followed me there 'Champaran is very near here Please give a day,' he insisted 'Pray excuse me this time But I promise that I will come,' said I, further committing myself

I returned to the Ashram The ubiquitous Rajkumar was there too 'Pray fix the day now,' he said. 'Well,' said I, I have to be in Calcutta on such and such a date, come and meet me then, and take me from there' I did not know where I was to go, what to do, what things to see

Before I reached Bhupen Babu's place in Calcutta, Rajkumar Shukla had gone and established himself there Thus this ignorant, unsophisticated but resolute agriculturist captured me

So early in 1917, we left Calcutta for Champaran looking just like fellow rustics I did not even know the train He took me to it, and we travelled together, reaching Patna in morning

This was my first visit to Patna. I had no friend or acquaintance with whom I could think of putting up. I had an idea that Rajkumar Shukla, simple agriculturist as he was, must have some influence in Patna. I had come to know him a little more on the journey, and on reaching Patna I had no illusions left concerning him. He was perfectly innocent of everything. The vakils that he had taken to be his friends were really nothing of the sort. Poor Rajkumar was more or less as a menial to them. Between such agriculturist clients and their vakils there is a gulf as wide as the Ganges in flood.

Rajkumar Shukla took me to Rajendra Babu's place in Patna. Rajendra Babu had gone to Puri or some other place, I now forget which. There were one or two servants at the bungalow who paid us attention. I had with me something to eat. I wanted dates which my companion procured for me from the Bazar.

There was strict untouchability in Bihar. I might not draw water at the well whilst the servants were using it, lest drops of water from my bucket might pollute them, the servants not knowing to what caste I belonged. Rajkumar directed me to the indoor latrine, the servant promptly directed me to the outdoor one. All this was far from surprising or irritating to me, for I was inured such to things. The servants were doing the duty, which they thought Rajendra Babu would wish them to do.

These entertaining experiences enhanced my regard for Rajkumar Shukla, if they also enabled me to know him better. I saw now that Rajkumar Shukla could not guide me, and that I must take the reins in my own hands.

THE GENTLE BIHARI

I knew Maulana Mazharul Haq in London when he was studying for the bar, and when I met him at the Bombay Congress in 1915—the year in which he was President of the Muslim League he had renewed the acquaintance, and extended

me an invitation to stay with him whenever I happened to go to Patna I bethought myself of this invitation and sent him a note indicating the purpose of my visit He immediately came in his car, and pressed me to accept his hospitality I thanked him and requested him to guide me to my destination by the first available train, the railway guide being useless to an utter stranger like me He had a talk with Rajkumar Shukla and suggested that I should first go to Muzaffarpur There was a train for that place the same evening, and he sent me off by it

Principal Kripalani was then in Muzaffarpur. I had known of him ever since my visit to Hyderabad Dr Choithram had told me of his great sacrifice, of his simple life, and of the *Ashram that Dr Choithram was running out of funds provided* by Prof Kripalani He used to be a professor in the Government College, Muzaffarpur, and had just resigned the post when I went there I had sent a telegram informing him of my arrival, and he met me at the station with a crowd of students, though the train reached there at midnight He had no rooms of his own, and was staying with Professor Malkani who therefore virtually became my host It was an extraordinary thing in those days for a Government professor to harbour a man like me

Professor Kripalani spoke to me about the desperate condition of Bihar, particularly of the Tirhut Division and gave me an idea of the difficulty of my task He had established very close contact with the Biharis, and had already spoken to them about the mission that took me to Bihar.

In the morning a small group of vakils called on me I still remember Ramnavmi Prasad among them, as his earnestness specially appealed to me

'It is not possible, ' he said, 'for you to do the kind of work you have come for, if you stay here (meaning Prof Malkani's quarters) You must come and stay with one of us Gaya Babu is a well known vakil here I have come on his behalf

to invite you to stay with him. I confess we are all afraid of Government, but we shall render what help we can. Most of the things Rajkumar Shukla had told you are true. It is a pity our leaders are not here today. I have, however, wired to them both, Babu Brajkishore Prasad and Babu Rajendra Prasad. I expect them to arrive shortly, and they are sure to be able to give you all the information you want and to help you considerably. Pray come over to Gaya Babu's place.'

This was a request that I could not resist, though I hesitated for fear of embarrassing Gaya Babu. But he put me at ease, and so I went over to stay with him. He and his people showered all their affection on me.

Brajkishorebabu now arrived from Darbhanga and Rajendra Babu from Puri. Brajkishorebabu was not the Babu Brajkishore Prasad I had met in Lucknow. He impressed me this time with his humility, simplicity, goodness and extraordinary faith, so characteristic of the Biharis, and my heart was joyous over it. The Bihar vakils' regard for him was an agreeable surprise to me.

Soon I felt myself becoming bound to this circle of friends in life long friendship. Brajkishorebabu acquainted me with the facts of the case. He used to be in the habit of taking up the cases of the poor tenants. There were two such cases pending when I went there. When he won any such case, he consoled himself that he was doing something for these poor people. Not that he did not charge fees from these simple peasants. Lawyers labour under the belief that, if they do not charge fees, they will have no wherewithal to run their households, and will not be able to render effective help tō the poor people. The figures of the fees they charged and the standard of a barrister's fees in Bengal and Bihar staggered me.

'We have Rs. 10,000 to so and so for his opinion,' I was told. Nothing less than four figures in any case.

The friends listened to my kindly reproach and did not misunderstand me

'Having studied these case,' said I, 'I have come to the conclusion that we should stop going to law courts Taking such cases to the courts does little good Where the ryots are so crushed and fear stricken, law courts are useless The real relief for them is to be free from fear We cannot sit still until we have driven *tinkathia* out of Bihar I had thought that I should be able to leave here in two days, but I now realise that the work might take even two years I am prepared to give that time, if necessary I am now feeling my ground, but I want your help'

I found Brajkishore babu exceptionally coolheaded We shall render all the help we can,' he said quietly but pray tell us what kind of help you will need '

'I shall have little use for your legal knowledge, I said to them I want clerical assistance and help in interpretation It may be necessary to face imprisonment, but, much as I would love you to run that risk you would go only so far as you feel yourselves capable of going Even turning yourselves into clerks and giving up your profession for an indefinite period is no small thing I find it difficult to understand the local dialect of Hindi, and I shall not be able to read papers written in Kaithi or Urdu I shall want you to translate them for me We cannot afford to pay for this work It should all be done for love and out of a spirit of service '

Brajkishorebabu understood this immediately, and he now cross examined me and his companions by turns He tried to ascertain the implications of all that I had said how long their service would be required how many of them would be needed, whether they might serve by turns and so on Then he asked the vakils the capacity of their sacrifice

Ultimately they gave me this assurance 'Such and such a number of us will do whatever you may ask Some of us

will be with you for so much time as you may require. The idea of accommodating oneself to imprisonment is a novel thing for us. We will try to assimilate it.'

FACE TO FACE WITH AHIMSA

My object was to inquire into the condition of the Champaran agriculturists and understand their grievances against the indigo planters. For this purpose it was necessary that I should meet thousands of the ryots. But I deemed it essential, before starting on my inquiry, to know the planters' side of the case and see the Commissioner of the Division. I sought and was granted appointments with both.

The Secretary of the Planters' Association told me plainly that I was an outsider and that I had no business to come between the planters and their tenants, but if I had any representation to make, I might submit it in writing. I politely told him that I did not regard myself as an outsider, and that I had every right to inquire into the condition of the tenants if they desired me to do so.

The Commssioner on whom I called, proceeded to bully me, and advised me forthwith to leave Tirhut.

I acquainted my co-workers with all this, and told them that there was a likelihood of Government stopping me from proceeding further, and that I might have to go to jail earlier than I had expected, and that, if I was to be arrested, it would be best that the arrest should take place in Motihari or if possible in Bettiah. It was advisable, therefore, that I should go to those palces as early as possible.

Champaran is a district of the Tirhut Division and Motihari is its headquarters. Rajkumar Shukla's place was in the vicinity of Bettiah, and the tenants belonging to the *kothis* in its neighbourhood were the poorest in the district. Rajkumar Shukla wanted me to see them and I was equally anxious to do so.

So I started with my co workers for Motihari the same day Babu Gorkh Prasad harboured us in his home, which became a caravanserai. It could hardly contain us all The very same day we heard that about five miles from Motihari a tenant had been ill treated It was decided that, in company with Babu Dharanidhar Prasad, I should go and see him the next morning and we accordingly set off for the place on elephant s back An elephant, by the way, is about as common in Champaran as a bullock cart in Gujarat We had scarcely gone half way when a messenger from the Police Superintendent overtook us and said that the latter had sent his compliments I saw what he meant Having left Dharanidharbabu to proceed to the original destination, I got into the hired carriage which the messenger had brought He then served on me a notice to leave Champaran, and drove me to my place On his asking me to acknowledge the service of the notice, I wrote to the effect that I did not propose to comply with it and leave Champaran till my inquiry was finished Thereupon I received a summons to take my trial the next day for disobeying the order to leave Champaran

I kept awake that whole night writing letters and giving necessary instructions to Babu Brajkishore Prasad

The news of the notice and the summons spread like wildfire, and I was told that Motihari that day witnessed unprecedented scenes Gorkhbabu s house and the court house overflowed with men Fortunately I had finished all my work during the night and so was able to cope with the crowds My companions proved the greatest help They occupied themselves with regulating the crowds, for the latter followed me wherever I went

A sort of friendliness sprang up between the officials Collector, Magistrate, Police Superintedent—and myself I might have legally resisted the notices served on me Instead I accepted them all, and my conduct towards the officials was correct They thus saw that I did not want to offend them personally, but that I wanted to offer civil resistance to their orders In this way

they were put at ease, and instead of harassing me they gladly availed themselves of my and my co-workers' co-operation in regulating the crowds. But it was an ocular demonstration to them of the fact that their authority was shaken. The people had for the moment lost all fear of punishment and yielded obedience to the power of love which their new friend exercised.

It should be remembered that no one knew me in Cahmparan. The peasants were all ignorant. Champaran, being far up north of the Ganges, and right at the foot of the Himalayas in close proximity to Nepal, was cut off from the rest of India. The Congress was practically unknown in those parts. Even those who had heard the name of the Congress shrank from joining it or even mentioning it. And now the Congress and its members had entered this land, though not in the name of the Congress, yet in a far more real sense.

In consultation with my co-workers I had decided that nothing should be done in the name of the Congress. What we wanted was work and not name, substance and not shadow. For the name of the Congress was the *bete noire* of the Government and their controllers the planters. To them the Congress was a byword for lawyers' wrangles, evasion of law through legal loopholes, a byword for bomb and anarchical crime and for diplomacy and hypocrisy. We had to disillusion them both. Therefore we had decided not to mention the name of the Congress and not to acquaint the peasants with the organization called the Congress. It was enough, we thought, if they understood and followed the spirit of the Congress instead of its letters.

No emissaries had therefore been sent there, openly or secretly, on behalf of the Congress to prepare the ground for our arrival. Rajkumar Shukla was incapable of reaching the thousands of peasants. No political work had yet been done amongst them. The world outside Champaran was not known to them. And yet they received me as though we had been age-long friends. It is no exaggeration, but the literal truth, to say that

in this meeting with the peasants I was face to face with God, Ahimsa and Truth

When I come to examine my title to this realization, I find nothing but my love for the people And this in turn is nothing but an expression of my unshakable faith in Ahimsa

That day in Champaran was unforgettable event in my life and a red-letter day for the peasants and for me

According to the law, I was to be on my trial, but truly speaking Government was to be on its trial The Commissioner only succeeded in trapping Government in the net which he had spread for me

CASE WITHDRAWN

The trial began The Government pleader, the Magistrate and other officials were on tenterhooks They were at a loss to know what to do The Government pleader was pressing the Magistrate to postpone the case But I interfered and requested the Magistrate not to postpone the case, I wanted to plead guilty to having disobeyed the order to leave Champaran, and read a brief statement as follows

> With the permission of the Court I would like to make a brief statement showing why I have taken the very serious step of seemingly disobeying the order passed under Section 144 of Cr P C In my humble opinion it is a question of difference of opinion between the Local Administration and myself I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service I have done so in response to a pressing invitation to come and help the ryots who urge they are not being fairly treated by the indigo planters I could not render any help without studying the problem I have, therefore, come to study it with the assistance if possible, of the Administration and the planters I have no other motive, and cannot believe that my coming can in any way disturb public peace and cause loss of life I claim to

have considerable experience in such matters. The Administration, however, have thought differently. I fully appreciate their difficulty, and I admit too that they can only proceed upon information they received. As a law-abiding citizen my first instinct would be, as it was, to obey the order served upon me. But I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I have come. I fell that I could just now serve them only by remaining in their midst. I could not, therefore, voluntarily retire. Amid this conflict of dudies I could only throw the responsibility of removing me from them on the Administration. I am fully conscious of the fact that a person, holding, in the public life of India, a position such as I do, has to be most careful in setting an example. It is my firm belief that in the complex constitution under which we are living, the only safe and honourable course for a self-respecting man is, in the circumstances such as face me, to do what I have decided to do, that is, to submit without protest to the penalty of disobedience.

'I venture to make this statement not in any way in extenuation of the penalty to be awarded against me, but to show that I have disregarded the order served upon me not for want of respect for lawful authority. but in obedience to the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience.'

There was now no occasion to postpone the hearing, but as both the Magistrate and the Government pleader had been taken by surprise, the Magistrate postponed judgement. Meanwhile I had wired full details to the Viceroy, to Patna friends, as also to Pandit Madan Mohah Malaviya and others.

Before I could appear before the Court to receive the sentence, the Magistrate sent a written message that the Lieutenant Governor had ordered the case against me to be withdrawn, and Collector wrote to me saying that I was at liberty to conduct the proposed inquiry, and that I might count on whatever help I needed from the officials. None of us was prepared for this prompt and happy issue.

I called on the Collector Mr Heycock He seemed to be a good man, anxious to do justice He told me that I might ask for whatever papers I desired to see, and that I was at liberty to see him whenever I liked

The country thus had its first direct object lesson in Civil Disobedience The affair was freely discussed both locally and in the press, and my inquiry got unexpected publicity

It was necessary for my inquiry that the Government should remain neutral But the inquiry did not need support from press reporters or leading articles in the press Indeed the situation in Champarn was so delicate and difficult that over energetic criticism or highly coloured reports might easily damage the cause which I was seeking to espouse So I wrote to the editors of the principal papers requesting them not to trouble to send any reporters, as I should send them whatever might be necessary for publication and keep them informed

I knew that the Government attitude countenancing my presence had displeased the Champaran planters, and I knew that even the officials, though they could say *nothing openly*, could hardly have liked it Incorrect or misleading reports, *therefore, were likely to incense them all the more, and their* instead of descending on me, would be sure to descend on the poor fear-stricken ryots and seriously hinder my search for the truth about the case

In spite of these precautions the planter engineered against me a poisonous agitation All sorts of falsehoods appeared in the press about my co workers and myself But my extreme cautiousness and my insistence on truth, even to the minutest detail, turned the edge of their sword

The planters left no stone unturned in maligning Brajkisorebabu, but the more they maligned him, the more he rose in the estimation of the people

In such a delicate situation as this I did not think it proper to invite any leaders from other provinces Pandit Malaviyaji

had sent me an assurance that, whenever Iwanted him, I had only to send him word, but I did not trouble him. I thus prevented the struggle from assuming a political aspect. But I sent to the leaders and the principal papers occasional reports, not for publication, but merely for their information. I had seen that, even where the end might be political, but where the cause was non-political, one demaged it by giving it a political aspect and helped it by keeping in within its non-political limit. The Champaran struggle was a proof of the fact that disinterested service of the people in any sphere ultimately helps the country politically.

22

THE CONGRESS DEVELOPS A FOREIGN POLICY

The political thought of Jawaharlal Nehru (1889 1964), the Architect of Modern India, is important for several reasons Through his three major works, viz *Glimpses of World History*, *Discovery of India* and *Autobiography*, as well as through his numerous speeches running over several volumes he has spelt out an "Asian Democrats" world view and strategy for nation building But what is more important is the fact that he himself experimented with and operationalized the concept of nation-building he had spelt out in his writings

The remarkable success of Nehru in domestic politics was that he succeeded in creating a triple consensus in India, viz consensus on foreign policy, economic planning and policies, and political structures Significantly, there is no example of any other developing country having succeeded in these lines as did Nehru, and that success of Nehru was the reason why despite the difficult situation inherited after partition, India's progress was comparatively smooth

There was also an international dimension in Nehru's political thought and action With Krishna Menon as his prime advisor and executive, he forged the strategy of non alignment and by operationalising it in all the major international crisis and forums of discussion, Nehru generated enviable degree of mano-

euvring power for India. In the selection included here, Nehru describes how the Indian National Congress under his leadership started formulating a foreign policy for implementation on the attainment of Independence.

THE CONGRESS DEVELOPS A FOREIGN POLICY*

(Jawaharlal Nehru)

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS, LIKE ALL OTHER POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS in India, was for long entirely engrossed in internal politics and paid little attention to foreign developments In the nineteen twenties it began to take some interest in foreign affairs No other organization did so except the small groups of socialists and communists Moslem organizations were interested in Palestine and occasionally passed resolutions of sympathy for the Moslem Arabs there The intense nationalism of Turkey, Egypt, and Iran was watched by them but not without some apprehension, as it was secular, and was leading to reforms which were not wholly in keeping with their ideas of Islamic traditions The Congress graduolly developed a foreign policy what was based on the elimination of politica and eco mic imperialism everywhere and the cooperation of free nation This fitted in with the demand for Indian independence. As early as 1920 a resolution on foreign policy was passed by the Congress, in which our desire to co operate with other nations and especially to develop friendly relations with all our neighbouring countries was emphasized The possibility of another large scale war was later considered, and in 1927, twelve

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* From Jawaharlal Nehru *The Discovery of India*, Asia Publishing House (New Delhi 1969) pp 416-422

been internal trouble and a break up of the Kuomintang into rival groups.

The world situation seemed to be drifting towards a major conflict with England and France as heads of a European group of nations, and Soviet Russia associated with some eastern nations The United States of America held aloof from both these groups, their intense dislike of communism kept them away from Russia, and their distrust of British policy and competition with British finance and industry, preventing them from associating themselves with the British group Over and above these considerations was the isolationist sentiment of America and the fear of being embroiled in European quarrels

In this setting Indian opinion inevitably sided with Soviet Russia and the eastern nations This did not mean any widespread approval of communism, though a growing number were attracted to socialist thought The triumphs of the Chinese revolution were hailed with enthusiasm as portents of the approaching freedom of India and elimination of European aggression in Asia We developed an interest in nationalist movements in Dutch East Indies and Indo China, as well as the western Asiatic countries and Egypt The conversion of Singapore into a great naval base and the development of Trincomalee harbour in Ceylone appeared as parts of the general preparations for the coming War, in which Britain would try to consolidate and strengthen her imperialist postion and crush Soviet Russia and the rising nationalist movements of the East

It was with this background that the National Congress began to develop its foreign policy in 1927 It declared that India could be no party to an imperialist war and in no event should India could be made to join any war without the consent of her people being obtained In the years that followed this declation was frequently repeated and widespread propaganda was carried on in accordance with it It became one the the foundations of Congress Policy and, it was generally accepted,

nation with bitter memories of continuous struggle and suffering, that was an inevitable and unavoidable consequence, England and France had played false to republican Spain and betrayed Czechoslavakia, and thus sacrificed internationalism for what they considered, wrongly as events proved, their national interests The United states of America had clung to isolationalism in spite of their evident sympathy with Eagland, France and China, and their hatred of nazism and Japanese militarism and aggression It was Pearl Harbour that flung them headlong into war Soviet Russia, the very emblem of internationalism, had followed a strictly national policy, bringing confusion to many of her friends and sympathizers It was the sudden and unannounced *attack by the German armies that brought war to the* U S S R The Scandinavian countries and Holland and Belgium tried to avoid war and entanglement in the vain hope of saving themselves, and yet were overwhelmed by it Turkey has sat precariously for five years on the thin edge of a varying neutrality, governed solely by national considerations Egypt, still a semi colonial country in spite of its apparent independence, itself one of the major battle areas, occupies a curious and anomalous position For all practical purposes it is a belligerant country completely under the control of the armed forces of the United Nations, and yet apparently it is not a *belligerent*

There may be justification or excuse for all these policies adopted by various governments and countries A democracy cannot easily jump into war without preparing its people and gaining their co operation Even an authoritation state has to prepare the ground But whatever the reason or justification may be, it is clear that whenever a crisis has occured, national considerations, or what were considered to be such, have been paramount and all others, which did not fit in with them, have been swept away It was extraordinary how, during the Munich crises, the hundreds of international organizations, anti-fascist leagues, etc, in Europe were struck dump and became powerless and ineffective Individuals and small groups may become internationally minded and may even be prepared to sacrifice personal and immediate national

cause, but not so nations. It is only when international interests are believed to be in line with national interests that then arouse enthusiasm.

A few months ago the London *Economist*, discussing British foreign policy, wrote : 'The only foreign policy that has any hope of being consistently pursued is one in which national interests are fully and obviously safeguarded. No nation puts the interests of the international community before its own. It is only if the two can be seen to coincide that there is any possibility of effective internationalism.'

Internationalism can indeed only develop in a free country, for all the thought and energy of a subject country are directed towards the achievment of its own freedom. That subject condition is like a cancerous growth inside the body, which not only prevents any limb from becoming health but is a constant irritant to the mind and colours all thought and action. Conflict is inherent in it and such conflict leads a concentration of thought on it and prevents a consideration of wider issues. The history of a long succession of past conflicts and suffering becomes the inseparable companion of both the individual and the national mind. It becomes an obsession, a dominating passion, which cannot be exercised except by removing its root cause, And even them, when sense of subjection has gone, the cure is slow, for the injuries of the mind take longer to heal than those of the body.

All this background we have long had in India, and yet Gandhi gave a turn to our nationalist movement which lessened the feelings of frustration and bitterness. Those feelings continued but I do not know of any other notionalist mvoement which has been so free from hatred. Gandhi was an intense nationalist ; he was also, at the same time, a man who felt he had a message not only for Iddia but for the world, and he ardently desired world peace. His nationalism, therefore, had a ceetain world outlook and was entirely free from any aggressive intent. Desiring the independence of India, he had come to believe that a world federation of interdependent states was the

only right goal, however distant that might be He had said 'My idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country may die, so that the human race may live There is no room for race hatred here Let that be our nationalism', And again , 'I do want to think in terms of the whole world My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general Therefore, my service of India includes the service of humanity Isolated independence is not the goal of the world states It is voluntary interdependence The better mind of the world desires to day not absolutely indepen-states, warring one against another, but a federation of friendly, interdependent states The consummation of that event may be far off I want to make no grand claims for our country But I see nothing fraud or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence I desire the ability to be totaly independent without asserting the independence'

As the natinonalist movement grew in strength and self confidence many people began to think in terms of a free India what she would be like, what she would do, and what her relations with other countries would be The very bigness and potential strength and resources of country made them think in big terms India could not be a mere hanger on of any country or group of nations , her freedom and growth would make a vital difference to Asia and therefore to the world That led inevitably to the conception of full independence and a severance of the bonds that tied her to England and her empire Dominion status, even when that status approached independence, seemed an absurd limitation and a hindrance to full growth The idea behind dominion status, of a mother country closely connected with her daughter nations all of them having a common cultural background, seemed totally inapplicable to India It meant certainly a wider sphere of international cooperation, which was desirable, but it also meant at the same time lesser co operation, with countries outside that empire or commonwealth group It thus became a limiting factor, and our ideas, full of the promise of the future, overstepped these boundaries and looked to a wider co opera-

tion. In particular, we thought of close relations with our neighbour countries in the east and west, with China, Afghanistan, Iran, and the Soviet Union. Even with distant Amerira we wanted closer relations, for we could learn much from the United States as also from the Soviet Union. There was a feeling that we had exhausted our capacity for learning anything more from England, and in any event we could only profit by contact with each other after breaking the unhealthy bond that tied us and by meeting on equal terms.

The racial discrimination and treatment of Indians in some of the British dominions and colonies were powerful factors in our determination to break from that group. in particular, South Africa was a constant irritant. and East Africa and Kenya, directly under the British colonial policy. Curiously enough we got on well, as individuals, with Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders, for they represent a new tradition and were free from many of the prejudice and the social conservatism of the British.

When we talked of the independence of India it was not in terms of isolation. We realized, perhaps more than many other countries, that the old type of complete notional independence was doomed, and there must be a new era of world co-operation. We made it repeatedly clear, therefore, that we were perfectly agreeable to limit that independence, in common with other nations, within some international framework should preferably cover the world or as large a part of it as possible, or be regional. The British Commonwealth did not fit in with either of these conceptions, though it could be a part of the larger framework.

It is surprising how internationally minded we grew in spite of our intense nationalism. No other nationalist movement of a subject country came anywhere near this, and the general tendency in such other countries was to keep clear of international commitments. In India also there were those who objected to our lining up with republican Spain and China, Abyssinia and Czechoslovakia. Why antagonize powerful nations like

Italy, Germany, and Japan they said every enemy of Britain should be treated as a friend idealism has no place in politics, which concerns itself with power and the opportune use of it But these objectors were overwhelmed by the mass sentiment the Congress had created and hardly ever gave public expression to their views The moslem League remained throughout discreetly silent and never committed itself on any such international issue

In 1938 the Congress sent a medical unit consisting of a number of doctors and necessary equipment and material to China For several years this unit did good work there When this was organized Subhas Bose was president of the Congress He did not approve of any step being taken by the Congress weich was anti Japanese or anti German or anti Italian And yet such was the feeling in the Congress and the country that he did not oppose this or many other manifestations of Congress sympathy with China and the victims of fascist and nazi aggression We passed this or many other manifestations of Congress sympathy with China and the victims of fascist and nazi aggression We passed many resolutions and organized many demonstrations of which he did not approve during the period of his presidentship, but he submitted to them without protest because he realized the strength of feeling behind them There was a big difference in outlook between him others in the Congress Executive, both in regad to foreign and internal matters and this led to a break early in 1939 He than attacked Congress Policy publicly and early in August 1939 the Congress Executive took the very unusual step of taking disciplinary action against him one of its ex presidents

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SOCIAL BASIS OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

A prominent member of the Communist International M N Roy had joined the revolutionary movement in 1903, and guided communist and revolutionary movements in many countries As the founder of the Radical Democratic Party, and of the Indian Federation of Labour, and as the author of such books as *India in Transition Russian Revolution and Fascism* Roy made himself a force to be reckoned within Indian politics At the international levels he established himself by closely working with Lenin and, remaining in Moscow, directing the communist movement in Asia

The selection included here is a letter of M N Roy dated 8 March, 1923, and forms part of the booklet *Political letters*, written and published by Roy himself under the fictitious establishment 'Vanguard Bookshop, Zurich 1924' In this letter, Roy refers to the programme put forward at the Gaya session of the National Congress, and the phrase "The rise of the Independent Nationalist Party in Bengal' is employed to refer to the Swaraj Party of C R Das Considering that the programme of this party includes the "abolition of landlordism' and several welfare measures he looks upon it as a sign of the times and argues that the objective conditions in the Indian Society demand that a truly revolutionary party be founded He also defines the correct approach of the working class party to the national liberation movement

SOCIAL BASIS OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY*

(M, N. Roy)

Dear Comrade,

Noncooperation as a political movement received its funeral ceremony in Gaya. From all reports, the Congress has met precisely the same fate that we have been predicting during the last twelve months. Marxism is a wonderful philosophy, is it not? It has made of history such an exact science. I wonder how long it will take before this modern revolutionary method of thinking is introduced into our movement. The forces of national revolution are today scattered in confusion. We propose to rally them in a new party. It is not that we have to manufacture a following. We need simply hoist a flag which will appeal to the imagination of those ojectively revolutionary forces, that were never understood by our religious noncooperators, nor by the rational extremists of the pro-change party. So objectively speaking, we hold that our party has a following. As Marxians, we declare : "Had there not existed the social element to form such a party, there could be no idea of forming it." You need not feel discouraged because you do not represent such a motley crew as the noncooperation Congress. You and those who think like you, are the real representatives of the Indian people, and alone have the right to speak in their behalf.

We are agreed on the necessity of forming a new party.

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* From G. Adhikari (ed) Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India, Vol. II (People' Publishing House New Delhi : 1974) pp. 23-25.

What is the first step to be taken in this direction? The adoption of a programme of the party. We have already published the outline of a programme, with some important clauses of which you do not agree. You take exception to the "abolition of landlordism", and to "agitation" against bourgeoisie. Your reasons are just those that forced Gandhi to call for the shameful retreat at Bardoli. He was faced with the problem of choosing between the financial aid of the landlords and capitalists on one hand and the revolutionary energy of the masses on the other. The Bombay merchants and millowners would not pay their promised contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund if the Congress supported the strikes and demonstrations of the workers. The reactionary lower middle class was so closely tied to the apronstrings of the feudal lords of Oudh, that it would rather see the great non cooperation movement degenerate into a prayer association and spinning guild than to brook the revolutionary agrarian upheaval threatening the security of landlordism. Hence, the shameful betrayal by the congress of the great mass movement that culminated in the semi-insurrectionary outbreaks in Bombay and the United Provinces. This revolutionary action of the masses was denounced as "hooliganism, and banned in the name of "non violence". But what was the social reason behind this theory of nonviolence? Was it not the anxiety for the vested interests of the native upper class and the apprehension of losing the problematical support of the rich? By stoutly denouncing the revolt of the exploited peasantry, and reaffirming the sacred rights of the feudal lords, the Congress killed a great mass movement but can you say that by these reprehensible tactics the landlords of Oudh have been made any more patriotic or better said less loyal and reactionary? The recent controversy over UP Distrit Board Bill should have taught us a lesson.

As for the financial support of the capitalists, the way in which attempts were made to manipulate the entire Swaraj Fund for profiteering in khaddar proves the real character of patriotism of the merchants and manufacturers. No, my dear comrade, it is a mistake to give the interests of the upper classes the first place in the struggle for national liberation. If we sacrifice the

dynamic forces of mass action in favour of the financial support of the landlords and capitalists, we shall have to record innumerable Bardolis. It speaks very badly for our revolutionary outlook if we have not yet learned to recognize which social element is the backbone of our movement.

I do not say that we should fail to enlist the services of all possible revolutionary elements in the struggle. We must not lose our sense of proportion. The social character of the nationalist movement is bourgeois therefore the middle classes will play an important part in it. But owing to the abnormal development of our history (the fact of the British conquest), the Indian bourgeoisie does not today possess the same revolutionary significance as did its prototype in Europe in the middle of the last century. Therefore, the Indian revolution will not be successful purely as a bourgeois revolution. Our bourgeoisie is too underdeveloped, too weak, too timid, to lead a revolutionary struggle. They must be aided by some other social factor, more revolutionary. Therefore, the programme of our movement cannot be confined within the limits of bourgeois interests and aspirations.

Then look at the question from a historical point of view. What will the national independence of India mean? The victory of the Indian bourgeoisie ! As Marxians, we cannot but laugh at the revivalist theory that India is a special creation of god. The triumph of the bourgeoisie means the disruption of feudalism, because the latter is detrimental to the capitalist mode of production. Therefore, objectively speaking, the programme of national independence sounds the death-knell to landlordism. Why should we not have the courage to explain this programme in such simple language as will be within the understanding of the poor peasantry, and make the national struggle a vital issue to them ? Are we less revolutionary than the heroes of the Liberal League? Even they are clarifying their economic outlook and only look at the tussle going on within the council of the UP. If the ministerial liberals will not break away from their feudal leading strings, they will ere long forefeit their title to lead the big bourgeoisie. The rise of the Independent Nationalist Party in

Bengal is a sign of the times Have you noticed that the programme of this new political party of the liberal bourgeoisie includes the "abolition of landlordism," and many of those 'welfare" clauses which seem to have terrified you in our programme? It is not a communist programme that we have drafted It is a simple, democratic document, adapted to our "special circumstance" We must dismiss the hope of securing the help of the landed aristocracy The bourgeoisie must be with the national movement They cannot leave it, nor can they fight alone They must have our support So we must enter the struggle consciously, and not as a more appendage of the bourgeoisie More on this question later

8 March 1923

(Political Letters by M N Roy)

24

HUNT FOR THE BOLSHEVIKS IN INDIA

As one of the founding fathers of the Communist Party of India, S.A. Dange, though in Jail at that time, played an important role in stimulating the various communist groups then functioning in India, to hold the First Communist Conference at Kanpur in 1925. It was in this historic conference that the individual communist groups that had emerged in Bombay, Madras, Bengal and in the north United together and formed the Communist Party of India. In a recent booklet, *When Communists Differ* (Bombay : 1970) Dange has recalled how, following the Kanpur conspiracy case of 1924, steps were taken to hold a conference of communists and establish a properly constituted party with a central committee in India. It is also important to remember that the early efforts and suggestions which were the precussors of the later successful activities to build the worker's and peasant's party of India were made by both M.N. Roy and Dange, independently of each other in 1921 and 1922.

In the article reproduced here, originally printed in the Marathi daily *Lokamanya*, dated 5 July, 1923, Dange, condemned the persecution of Indian revolutionaries as "Bolshevik agents", and expressed his solidarity with ideas of the Russian revolution, which he thought were very relevant to India too.

"HUNT FOR THE BOLSHEVIKS IN INDIA"[1*]

(S A Dange)

All are aware that the bolsheviks are ruling in Russia The Indian people did not know as yet the movement of these bolsheviks has reached India

And for that very reason the paper called Pioneer which is in favour of the government people came to know it It was Pioneer who first told the news to all that seventy people are arrested as bolshevik agents

Similar to the Labour Party in England the Bolshevik Party is trying to win for themselves the machinery of the Russian state The European rulers and journalists did not listen towards them until the chances of Russian wealth of European capitalists going out from their hands and of the bolsheviks' attempts being successful where not making themselves visible

It was after their success in 1917 and a consequent hiatus in the way of the Europeans having access to Russian fertile zones that the voices of European capitalist newspapers became audible and they unanimously raised a common hue and cry

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1 This is the official translation of the article in *Lokmanya*, The Marathi daily done by S S Joshi on 5 May 1924 and produced by the prosecution in the Kanpur Case Though it does not read well, one can get an idea of what Dange must have written

* From G Adhikari (ed) *Documents fo the History of the Communist Party of India* Vol II (Peoples' Publishing House New Delhi 1974) pp 129 133

against Russia, the voice being pregnant with lies and billingsgate.

All nations of the world are under the direct influence of capitalist cult. Taking advantage of this fact it was purposefully given out a wide publicity that bolsheviks are entering every one of them. Hereafter a general rule was as if established to the effect that every new movement in any nation was none else than a bolshevik movement.

This rule was applied to India. This movement is a bolshevik movement and the bolsheviks' gold is financing it, was a charge attempted to be laid against the movement of noncooperation when that movement was ushered into existence by Mahatma Gandhi. But this attempt met With failure. Now this bolshevik bogy is trying to come with a different garb on its face.

The leaders and other people are getting themselves convinced that more attention must be paid towards the growing organisation of the workers and peasants and as in India this sort of organisation is now in a growing condition day by day.

With a view to connect this forward step of Indian politics with some already ill-famous name and so to put a brake on its forward march it was broadly given out that bolsheviks are sending money and propagandists to India. To back this allegation some arrests are also being arranged to be made. A slight breeze of this particular nature is lately loading the Bombay climate and I personally have felt it more particularly. I am mentioning here how and how much of it reached me individually. Readers will know the cause of the personal tale as soon as they know the tale itself.

Every conscious reader began to read the account of the Russian revolution after it came into existence in 1917. Similarly the doctrines through which this revolution brought

about are taught briefly in the classes of B A Some students get themselves rather dissatisfied with the brevity of education concerning their subjects and subsequently they enter upon specialisation I studied socialism and came to see through its extra nationalist character according to this general rule

I started the paper *Socialist* with a view to let people know this culture methodically European subscribers liked it most because in that continent this culture is in a better established state

A certain mail delivered me a contribution signed M N Roy I did not know this name I printed the article as it was a very good one But to my surprise I came to know the importance of this name on the very third day of its publicity The police enquired whether or not I was acquainted with Roy and whether I had any connection with the person denoted by that name The aroused curiosity led me to enquire what kind of man he was as I was convinced already of his being entity Subsequently I came to know that he was an out and out communist and he had tried to overthrow the British empire while he was in India From this time onwards government began to keep a special watch on me A censorsaip was applied to whole of my correspondence For 24 hours my doors were under the the direct eye of the CID

Mr Steward, deputy superintedent of police sent me an invitation when the expedition against the bolshevik agents was set in motion The reason mentioned for this invitation amounted only to the superintendent pointing out to me some technical mistakes in my paper But the information the super tried to gather was manifestly more than this reason required for itself A conference of all the communists in the world was held at Moscow in November 1922 The representatives of all the communist and socialist parties all the world over and affiliated to the central body were present at this conference There is no such party in India as yet Mr M N Roy sent a friend of his

to me hoping that I may be available to act according to the dictation of this (Moscow Central Communist Party-as I was a socialist though all the time he knew that there was no such party here. The name of the man was Charles Ashleigh. He came and saw me here. Mr. Ashleigh told me that I along with other people holding views similar to the one I held should come to the Moscow world congress. But as I was not ready to work under a party in a distant country, I told him that Iwas not ready to present myself at the congress. I also told him that Indian politics differed vastly from the European one.

Deputy super. of police called me and asked me about the abovementioned gentleman. This police officer also enquired of me whether or not that gentleman was a bolshevik and whether he tried to bait me with bolshevik gold. He kept silent as I presently met him with a question as to whether there was no other way than to use the bolshevik gold for political workers in India. The next question was as to how I maintained myself. In reply to this question I supplied information about my business service and such other similar matters. In reply to the question whether I ever received letters from Roy I showed the superfluity of the question itself bringing to the superint, notice that all letters I received from Roy come through the superint. Himself after duly censored. This reason why I have retold this long tale only to eradicate the unprovoked mis statements about our party sought to be broadly established. Even Mrs. Naidu has helped to a small extent this false propaganda by styling us bolsheviks in fun. The goal of the Socialist Party of India is one of an open and siraightforward nature. The peasants and workers must be taken hold of as a helping hand in the attainment of swaraj. They will not hold their hand up for our help only if we hold to them false promises without changing the fundamentals of their present state. To take away the means of production of food and raiments from the hands of profiteers and to confide them into the hands of the society is the minimum goal of the Socialist Party. We do not feel the necessity of bolshevik gold or the help of their agents to con-

vince the people about the necessity of this gold. The propaganda of this party is open as that of the noncooperation party. We have written this with a view to caution (the people) as government have started the hunt to nip in the bud the growing labour movement.

(Exhibit No. 62X in Kanpur Case)

25

COMMUNISTS AND NATIONALISTS

It was the First Communist Conference convened by Satyabhakta of U.P. and held at Kanpur in 1925, in which the individual commnist groups which had emerged in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and in the North were brought together for the first time, that the Communist Party of India was formally founded. The more important leaders who participated in this Conference included Muzaffar Ahmed (from Bengal); N.K. Joglekar, S.V. Ghate, and R,S. Nimbkar (from Bombay); Abdul Majid (from Punjab); Satya Bhakta and Maulana Hasrat mohani (from U.P.); and Singara Velu Chettiyar (from Madras). According to *Kirti* (Feb. 1926) 300 delegates attended this Conference.

In the *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, which he has edited with annotations, Dr. G. Adhikari has divided the early period of the history of the Communist Party of India into three parts, viz. the background-preparatory period (up to the end of 1922); the foundation-consolidation period (from 1923 to 1925); and the early period of mass activities (from 1925 to 1929).

The selection included here is a pamphlet printed in England and dated 1 January, 1925. Signed "The Communist Party of India", it was a comment and reply to the high court judgement in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case (November, 1924).

This statement points out that judgement of the court saying "The revolutionaries proposed to sweep away all Indian political groups and labour organizations" was not only untrue, but also malicious It also made it clear that the communists in India stood for the "liberation of the country from the exploitation of foreign capital for the establishment of a democratic national state", and reiterated its willingness to 'fight as a part of the Congress" for "a federated republic and a national assembly elected on universal suffrage "

"COMMUNISTS AND NATIONALISTS"*

(A Statement of the Communist Party)

The Bolshevik Conspiracy Case is over. The Allahabad high court has upheld the verdict of the Kanpur Session court, and four accused must serve four years each in jail. It is remarkable how very little interest the nationalists took in this case. The issue involved in this trial was much greater than the liberty of four men. Communism, all that it stands for and those professing it were on trial. They were tried and condemned by those who did not know anything about the principles involved, and who put malicious interpretation of them purposely. Much more still. The existence of a people's party having for its object the separation of India from the British empire has been declared "illegal". Nevertheless the nationalists maintained an attitude of indifference to this trial.

Apart from the natural class prejudice of the upper classes, other factors contributed to the determination of the nationalist attitude. These factors were the successful attempts government to misinterpret our programme and activities with the object of terrorising the nationalists. Not only has the programme of the Communist Party of India been flagrantly misinterpreted, but we have been held responsible for pronouncements that we never made. The government has done this because it knows that a people's party organised on the basis of the programme advocated by us will be a formidable

* From G. Adhikari (ed.) *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India,* Vol. II (People's Publishing House, New Delhi : 1974) pp. 465-472

force to contend with, that the revolutionary nationalist, belonging to the exploited middle classes, which have small reason to favour a compromise with imperialism will eventually adopt the programme proposed by us, and that the adoption of this programme is sure to draw the overwhelming majority of the population actively into the political struggle for national liberation The desire of imperialism is to hold us up as the enemy of the nationalist movement while the case is just the contrary

The crux of the case was the allegation that we not only conspired against the British government but also preached a wholesale confiscation of property The prosecution counsel informed the high court that "the government Roy wanted in India was of the Russian kind " The judgement of the high court dismissing the appeal contains the following passages

"British rule, government by upper and middle class Indians alike were to be swept away, the confiscation of property was to be wholesale Violence and destruction of property were to be encouraged and conflicts to be precipitated The revolutionaries proposed to sweep away all Indian political groups and labour organisations which did not come into line The power of upper and middle class Indians was to be destroyed by taking from them all that they possessed

This sums up all the allegations against us in addition to that of "conspiracy to deprive the king-emperor of this sovereignty" To the charge of challenging the sovereignty of any foreign monarch over India, we plead guilty That our programme calls for the establishment of an independent Indian republic replacing the present British government, we openly admit But this does not constitute a "conspiracy" We do not "conspire" against British sovereignty We openly contest its legality, and boldly advocate the perfectly constitutional right of Indian people to replace it by a free national democratic government This aspect of the case will be argued at length on a subsequent occasion

Now we propose to show that the allegations like those cited above are mere figments of imagination. They are advanced with the purpose of demonstrating to the nationalists that the communists are not only hostile to imperialism, but deadly inimical to them. Without making any secret of the fact that as communists we stand for the abolition of private property and the termination of all forms of government based upon class-domination, we propose here to show that nowhere in our programme have we advocated for India at this period of her history dictatorship of the proletariat, wholesale confiscation of property and violent suppression of the upper and middle classes. It is not that we consider these measures generally inapplicable to India, but because we recognise the fact that the present politico-economic state of India does not call for those measures. The realisation of our ultimate goal,—the transformation of civilised society from a state based upon the exploitation of man by man to a cooperative commonwealth—demands the evolution of the Indian people through successive states of political and economic progress. The first of these stages is the liberation from the exploitation of foregin capital backed up by a formidable political power. The establishment of a democratic national state, free from all outside domination, will mark the attainment of this preliminary stage. Then the Indian people will stand on the threshold of free socio-economic evolution, and the grave problems of capitalist contradictions and class antagonisms inherent in every civilised social organism at a given period of development will be raised and solved in the order in which they present themselves. But the attainment of the starting point of a free national political existence, which will permit an unrestricted play of all the forces of social-economics, is conditional upon a successful struggle against foreign domination. Therefore the communists are just as much interested in the immediate question of national freedom and democratic government as the nationalists. We have formulated our programme, determined our tactics and builtup our organisation predominantly from this point of view. Thus the issues of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the wholesale confiscation of property or violent suppression of classes could not be raised at this moment. These are issues

Now we propose to show that the allegations like those cited above are mere figments of imagination. They are advanced with the purpose of demonstrating to the nationalists that the communists are not only hostile to imperialism, but deadly inimical to them. Without making any secret of the fact that as communists we stand for the abolition of private property and the termination of all forms of government based upon class-domination, we propose here to show that nowhere in our programme have we advocated for India at this period of her history dictatorship of the proletariat, wholesale confiscation of property and violent suppression of the upper and middle classes. It is not that we consider these measures generally inapplicable to India, but because we recognise the fact that the present politico-economic state of India does not call for those measures. The realisation of our ultimate goal,—the transformation of civilised society from a state based upon the exploitation of man by man to a cooperative commonwealth—demands the evolution of the Indian people through successive states of political and economic progress. The first of these stages is the liberation from the exploitation of foregin capital backed up by a formidable political power. The establishment of a democratic national state, free from all outside domination, will mark the attainment of this preliminary stage. Then the Indian people will stand on the threshold of free socio-economic evolution, and the grave problems of capitalist contradiction[illegible] and class antagonisms inherent in every civilised [illegible] organism at a given period of development will [illegible] *and solved in the order in which they present the*[illegible] the attainment of the starting point of a free [illegible] existence, which will permit an unrestri[illegible] forces of social-economics, is conditi[illegible] struggle against foreign dominatio[illegible] are just as much interested in t[illegible] freedom and democratic [illegible] have formulated our pro[illegible] builtup our organisation prede[illegible] Thus the issues of the dictators[illegible] wholesale confiscation of property o[illegible] classes could not be raised at this moment,

ment of modern industries with state aid" Since no question as regards the ownership of these industries has been raised, this clause obviously is in favour of the upper classes whom we are supposed to be massacring at the first opportunity, Profit-sharing in the big industries and the social legislation for the protection of the labouring classes, as stipulated in our programme, cannot very well be taken exception to without giving the lie to the anticapitalist professions of our nationalists Such measures are considered very harmless in practically all the enlightened capitalist countries

The sore spot is the land question We stand for the abolition of landlordism The confiscation involved in this clause of our programme is no 'bolshevism" It is not abolishing property, but replacing an antiquated form of landholding by a new form, conducive to higher production and the consequent increase of national wealth Besides it is always argued by our nationalists that the present system of tax farming, is not indigenous; it has been imposed upon us by the British Further the abolition of landlordism will deprive an infinitesimal minority (8 million, including dependants) of the absolute possession of 52 per cent of the land This measure is essentially necessary for the progress of the nation, and can be condemned neither on economical nor on moral grounds. In the *Vanguard* we have written extensively to explain why the welfare of the entire nation as well as that of a particular class demands a radical change in the present landownership

The publication of our programme on the eve of the Gaya Congress created a great sensation The National Congress acted just as British imperialism desired it to act. Taking their cue from the official press, the nationalist journals adopted a frankly hostile attitude towards our propositions which were condemned as 'bolshevik" measures Class consciousness determined the attitude of the upper class leaders; while the rank and file were simply scared out their wits by the bogy of bolshevism raised by the government. Consequently a programme, which alone could have saved the nationalist movement from the subseqent decomposition and reformist deviation, was

not even discussed. Writing to warn the nationalists of the trap they were falling into, we defined our question in the light of the programme as follows :

"Our first object is to secure national freedom for the people of India. We will fight as a part of the national Congress by fearless criticism, vigorous agitation and constant propaganda we will endeavonr to push the middle-class nationalists forward in the struggle ; we will cooperate with every social element that is objectively antagonistic to imperialist domination and we will stand shoulder to shoulder with every political party so long as they carry on the struggle against foreign domination. Our watchword is 'No Compromise'. We will expose mercilessly all attempts to betray the national cause under such pretexts as "equal partnership", "change of heart" and the like. We will force the Congress to declare boldly for a republican Indian, completely separated from imperialist domination" (*Vanguard*, 15 February, 1923).

So much from the programme which determines the tone and terms of all our writings, doings and declarations. Now let us disprove the allegations by extracts from the very letters produced by the government to establish its case. The intentions attributed to us by the prosecuting counsel and the trying judges can nowhere be found in the documents produced.

One of the exhibits, a letter dealing with the possibility of nonviolent mass action, has the following passage : "A party of workers and peasants must necessarily fight for complete national freedom and the establishment of a republic...To define clearly that our political programme calls for the complete separation from all imperial connection and the establishment of a national republican government does not by any means lead to the committing of futile acts of terrorism, or even to an immediate armed revolt" (*Vanguard*, 1 June 1923).

In criticising the programme of the so-called Labour Kisan Party, Roy wrote : Whatever this phrase ("labour swaraj") may mean, it cannot be the programme of our party. What is meant

by labour swaraj ? How is it to be attained ? How can we speak of labour swaraj which means if anything serious is meant by it, the dictatorship of the proletariat, when the very question of swaraj, that is national independence, remains unsolved ? Our slogan should not be the vague one of labour swaraj which cannot be realised for a long time yet, but for a national-democratic government based upon universal suffrage, with as much protection as possible for the working class" (*Vanguard*, 1 August 1923)

The same programme of the Labour Kisan Party was criticised by Dange one of the accused in the Kanpur Case, in his paper, the *Socialist* Dange disapproved of the Labour Kisan Party programme because it did not deal with the question of private property and advanced a counter programme which was criticised by as follows —

"Such questions as the abolition of private property, etc need not be included in the minimum programme Why then talk of such a far off thing as labour swaraj It does not come within the purview of immediate necessities It is certainly out of the realm of practical politics The programme puroposed by the *Socialist* calls for 'classless swaraj , which according to the definition given is something like a socialist commonwealth It is certainly a far fetched programme just at this moment There are much nearer goals to attain It is a long jump from medieval feudal patriarchy to a socialist commonwealth Socialism does not overlook the various stages of political existence through which a given community must pass before socialised production, distribution and exchange is reached The Indian masses will have to go through not a few of these economic and political stages It is not premature to talk of the socialisation of the means of production, when production itself is yet far from being socialised ? Therefore we need not fix our gaze so high up in the air A political institution, which is necessary for carrying our people the intervening stages of economic development, should be our immediate goal To lead the working class for the conquest of that goal is our task" (*Vanguard*, 1 September 1923)

The above quotations are typical of the general lines of our propaganda. The dictatorship of the proletariat, wholesale confiscation and violent suppression of classes are not only absent from our programme, we always opposed any deviation in that direction. Our object in making this statements is to warn the revolutionary nationalists against the sinister motives of imperialism. A militant nationalist movement can be organised only upon the programme advocated by us. The majority of the people, whose grievances can never be removed by any kind of patch-work, will eventually rally under this programme. The revolutionary, nationlists belonging to the middle class are included in this majority. By raising this bogy of class-hatred and confiscation, the government seeks to prevent the union of the revolutionary nationalists with the workers and peasants in a people's party. This design of imperialism may succeed in winning over to its side a thin upper stratum of our population, because the struggle for national liberation cannot be successfully prosecuted without some readjustment in the existing socio-economic relations. But the great majority has no reason to be frightened by a programme which clearly makes for national liberation, and the possibility for the free economic progress for the entire people.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

1 January 1925

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CLASS ANALYSIS OF INDIAN POLITICS

In the face of growing strength of the revolutionaries in India, Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, gave out a warning in 1925 to the nationalist leaders that no further advance of administrative reforms could be achieved by threats of violence It was in reply to this threat as well as the repressive measures of the imperialist government already in operation that Clemens Palme Dutt published his article "Indian politics-An Analysis" in three instalments in the July and August issues of the *Masses*

As a close associate of M N Roy, Clemens Dutt was carrying on political work in England and India simultaneously In England he was well known as a communist worker, doing political work among young Indians, mostly students in England and for this reason he was constantly being watched by governmental agencies, who at times even refused to give him passport for travel to India Moreover, he was a member of the Indian Bureau, an organisation of left wing Indian patriots, the core of which was communists, and he was also active in the Worker s Welfare League of India which was started with the express purpose of helping the rising organised Trade union movement in India Another occupation of Clemens Dutt was helping to circulate the organs of the C P I such as *Vanguard* and *Masses* among Indians M N Roy used to get considerable help from Clemens Dutt in running the above journals and in arranging

their despatch to India via France as well as through seamen via England.

In the selection included here, Clemens gives an analytical review of the political developments in India during the first 7 or 8 months of 1925, with special reference to Birkenhead's policy and the latest developments in the Swaraj and Congress Parties.

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CLASS ANALYSIS OF INDIAN POLITICS*

(Clemens Dutt)

The death of C R Das, the leader of the Swaraj Party, came at a critical moment For India at the present time stands before a new stage of political development That is the explanation of the present spectacle of confusion in Indian politics a confusion not merely obvious to outsiders but apparent and alarming to the central figures on the Indian political stage During the crowded experience of the postwar years many changes have taken place which have served to demonstrate clearly the nature of the class forces involved in the play of Indian politics and which have culminated in the present position of complete bankruptcy of Indian nationalist politics on existing lines The collapse of the noncooperation movement as led by Gandhi marked the end of one stage in development The crisis which is now threatening the Swaraj Party which took the place of Gandhi s movement as the representative movement of Indian nationalism marks the end of another stage Much to the surprise of the swarajists themselves the logical conclusion of their policy is showing itself to be a relapse to liberal politics It has been apparent to all that C R Das was recently angling for a possible reconciliation with the British Government His policy was supported by other rightwing leaders such as Motilal Nehru and there were even faint indications of response from Great Britain in so far as a modification of the Indian constitu-

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* From G Adhikari (ed) *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, Vol II (Peoples Publishing House New Delhi 1974)—pp 510-522.

tional reform scheme was the chief point at issue. Meanwhile the rank and file of Indian nationalist movement stand aghast before the collapse; while new forces, in particular the slowly-growing appreciation of its importance, indicate that an entirely new situation is gradually emerging.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS

To obtain a proper appreciation of the various factors which have determined the present situation, it is essential to examine the economic basis of Indian politics. In the light of such knowledge the development which has caused such confusion and uncertainty in the minds of the chief protagonists stands clearly explained and it is found indeed that the whole history of the last 5 years including Gandhism and its inevitable collapse and "swarajism" and its relapse into moderatism could all have been predicted with astonishing accuracy. In spite of the vaunted "spirituality" of India and on the mysticism which is supposed to be such a feature of the Indian mind, the effects of economic factors seem to be more clearly demonstrable in India than even in materialistic Western Europe. The reason for this is perhaps to be found in the very evident economic explotation that has always been the background of British domination in India and in the consequent tug-of-war of various British and Indian commercial interests, which is so largely responsible for the reality of Indian politics.

These various interests can be roughly characterised as follows. On the British side we have a practically united front in defence of British interests. The prime concern of British administration in India and of British capitalist politicians at home is naturally the protection of the interests of British imperialist capitalism in India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer in an illuminating phrase recently spoke of our duty to our imperial position, to our kinsfolk in India and to a thousand millions of British capital invested in India". Behind British rule therefore stands British capitalism and the concern of the one is the interest of the other. That phrase of "a thousand millions of British capital invested in India" is worth noting also by those Indians whose conception of British capitalism and its relations to India seems

to be limited to the competition of the Lancashire textile industry In the present stage foreign capitalist investment is playing a far more important part than is the dumping of foreign manufacturers or *draining of raw materials*

On the Indian side two great bulwarks of British domination have always been, firstly, the passive acquiescence of the vast mass of 300 million ignorant exploited workers and peasants, and secondly, the active support of the few million titled tools and mercenaries constituting the Indian landlord class and aristocracy with its hangers on Besides these, a number of new forces have gradually come into prominence and it is of course just this continuous development of new social classes and the antagonism resulting therefrom that renders them any hope of establishing a state of equilibrium in the tug of war of ineterests such as to allow of the perpetuation of the status-quo

First in class consciousness, if not ultimate importarce, is the rising Indian capitalist class They are already strong enough to challenge successfully the British claim to exclusive exploitation of India but they fear their own workers too much to dare risk and attempt to throw off the British connections Next comes the ever increasing educated middle class, professionals, intelligentsia and petit bourgeoisie with much less to lose and much more to gain from a thoroughgoing policy of India for the Indians As a social force, however, they count for little, for taken as a whole they are weak, incapable of self reliance, hesitant and timid The crucial factor of the present-day is the emergence of a class conscious working class The capitalist transformation of India creates out of the masses a modern homogenous proletariat in defiance of the traditional limits and differences of castes, sects and races They form the advance guard of a movement which will eventually put end to the dumb passivity of the peasant millions More and more of the latter, whose poverty and exploitation continually increase, are day by day thrown into the ranks of the wage labourers

THE POLITICAL PARTIES

As yet the working class is practically unorganised. The various political parties, however, reflect pretty accurately, the economic needs of the other sections we have mentioned. Thus the liberal or moderate party voices the interests of the landlords and more substantial Indian capitalists. At one time they dominated the National Congress, but they were soon swamped by the swelling influx of the petit-bourgeoisie. During the rapid period of development during the war and immediately after, British capitalism was ready to make big sacrifices to secure the loyalty of the moderates. As a matter of fact, very little was required ; the promise of assistance for the development of Indian industry and the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of constitutional reform sufficing for the purpose. The reforms drew off the big bourgeoisie from the National Congress which was left in the hands largely of the petit-bourgeoisie. The latter under the leadership of Gandhi with his banner of non-violent noncooperation attempted to put themselves at the head of the growing movement of the masses but as in so many analogous cases in European history they succeeded, of course, only in betraying it. The final collapse of Gandhism took place in February 1922 when the Bardoli conference renounced mass civil disobedience but for two years afterwards Gandhi's followers conducted a losing struggle for the old negative programme. The revolutionary crisis however was passed, direct action was out of the question and the active nationalists, could less and less content themselves with preaching Gandhi's version of Tolstoyanism. The important bourgeois sections that had not been rallied to the moderate banner by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were determined to use the councils as a new field of activity. They formed the Swaraj Party in December 1922 in defiance of the Gandhist majority in the National Congress but in the course of the next two years, they obtained the ascendancy also within the Congress itself.

THE SWARAJ PARTY

The history of the Swaraj Party is an illuminating chapter in history of Indian nationalism. It illustrates the development

of a peaceful, constitutional opposition, an ordinary "Redmondite" nationalist party from a bellicose party which entered the councils with the sole intention to obstruct to wreck and to destroy In this transformation, the Swaraj Party has shown itself true to the character of its leadership and the nature of the electorate it serves It is definitely a bourgeois nationalist party and its prominent figures are practically all connected with capitalist and landlord interests The electorate constitutes a small fraction of relatively well to do elements numbering hardly 2 per cent of the population and in enlisting their support, a task which the swarajists found more difficult than they expected, little attention could be spared for the desires and needs of the remaining 98 per cent

The Swaraj Party was formed with a view to the elections held at the end of 1923 Just in the nick of time, they received the benediction of the National Congress at a special session of the latter Naturally their first programme was a radical one, thunderous in its demand for responsible government and declaring in the actual words of the text, for 'uniform, continuous and persistent obstruction within the councils with a view to making the government through the councils impossible" Except in the Central Provinces however, they did not obtain the majority and this simple objective had to be abandoned. Their first step was to bargain for the support of a section of the liberals By the terms of this bargains, the 43 swarajists in the central legislative assembly received the support of some 24 liberals on condition that obstruction should only be resorted to if there was no response from the government after a reasonable time to a resolution demanding the reform of the constitutional machinery. This demand was moved and carried in the legislative assembly in February 1924 by 76 votes to 48 There was of course no response and obstruction was at last entered on by refusal of supplies, the throwing out of the budget The rejected measures were of course all restored by the use of the viceroy's power of certification Even this obstruction however proved too unconstitutional for the liberal "independents", who had entered into coalition with the swarajists This year, when the time for the annual disposal of

obstruction came round, the independents discovered that it was not logical to refuse supplies when the vote was rendered powerless by the viceroy's prerogative unless it was backed up by recommending to the people not to pay taxation. Accordingly this year the independents refused to vote with the swarajists and the finance bill was passed.

The renouncement of the original swarajists policy of obstruction is naively explained in an official statement of the party issued in May 1924. It states : "Our position is really not so much one of 'obstruction' in the parliamentary sense, as that of resistance to the obstruction placed in the path of swaraj by the bureaucratic government.

A transparent cloak for the concession that they returned to the paths of ordinary constitutional opposition.

A further change of policy also took place of considerable interest as laying bare in the least possible way the class character of the Swaraj Party. Originally the party was pledged not to accept office, to serve on committees or to move resolutions and introduce bills. This was an unnecessary limitation for a constitutional party representing capitalist interests. Thus we find that the manifesto abovementioned declares that the swaraj policy "must in future be more and more effectively directed to the varying needs and problems of our national life". Accordingly the programme was modified so as to allow of the introduction of "resolutions, measures, and bills necessary for the healthy growth of our national life".[1]

No clearer proof is required that by national interest the Swaraj Party understands Indian capitalist interests than to note that the use made of the above decision was for swarajists to serve on the government's steel protection committee and to vote for the steel protection bill, granting an enormous bounty to the Tata Steel interests without a thought for the conditions of the exploited steel workers.

THE BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT

It should not be forgotten that some measure of responsibility for stultification of the Swaraj Party lies at the door of the British labour government. For years India has been ground down in suffering under the political oppression of tory imperialism. Some Indian nationalists were disposed to see signs for hope in the coming of a labour government. But an ominous presage was the letter of Mr MacDonald rightfully interpreted as a threat the meaning of which was to be made clear in the 9 month regime that followed. The British labour government changed nothing at all. It was made clear that there was to be no advance towards self government, no freedom for the thousands of political prisoners, no introduction of political liberty, no relaxation of military autocracy, no amelioration of the lot of millions of workers and peasants. It demonstrated the complete identification of the British labour government with the interests of British capitalism. Further the labour government was responsible for the addition of two measures of the first importance to the long list of crimes against Indian political freedom. The first was the Kanpur Communist Trial (in which a pioneer group of Indian communists were convicted on a charge of "waging war against the king" for the crime principally of receiving political letters from Mr M N Roy) which struck a blow at the very possibility of working class political organisation. The second was the Bengal ordinance, the virtual introduction of martial law in Bengal, which served as an excuse for the arrest and imprisonment without trial of the left wing leaders of the Swaraj Party. The effect was twofold. It finally killed the possibility for "civil disobedience" and in so far assisted the swarajists. But it made the Swaraj Party itself helpless before the ascendancy of the right wing. The swarajists were driven into the hands of the capitalists and into the paths of barren constitutionalism. Nor has there been any real change since the fall of the labour government in the British labour's attitude. In spite of the hopeless bankruptcy of the sham constitution Lord Olivier still maintains that there was "no prima facie case" for the labour government even going so far as to set up a royal commission. Col. Wedgwood in a letter to Lajpat Rai speaks

as if the swarajists had betrayed the Labour Party rather than the reverse. He notes that there is in the Labour Party : "A growing feeling of being completely out of touch with the swarajists and out of sympathy. 'Just another set of self-seeking bosses' is the feeling prevalent."

The Indian nationalist press could perhaps be pardoned for hinting that the same description might be more aptly applied to their experience of the British labour government.

THE REVERSION TO LIBERALISM

At the present time the Swaraj Party clearly stands before a crisis. Its relapse into mederatism means that there is now very little difference between swarajists and liberals. This is evident in such accession to the party as Mr. P.C. Ray, secretary of the Calcutta National Liberal League, who recently declared : "I don't now find any material difference between me and Mr. C.R. Das in regard to our political objective or in the methods of obtaining them". The fact also that such a typical loyalist as the Rt Hon'ble Srinivas Sastri could say that he "was very near the end" of his membership of the Liberal Party and was "inclined to be a swarajist" throws a clear light on the present tendency of the party. The only point in reality that separates the two parties is that of obstruction on principle. If the swarajists were only to give that up, the last distinction would be gone and the liberals and swarajists together could cooperate with the British administration in securing law and order, promoting measures for "the healthy growth of the national life". But for such docility, the swarajist leaders would expect some tangible rewards, notably positions of great responsibility that can be given by the present puppet councils. It is to this bargain with the government that the swarajist leadership is now tending, Mr. C.R. Das in particular was advancing step by step in this direction and at the end it seemed that very little would suffice for a complete "reconciliation" between him and the British government. To show his readiness he had not merely emphasised the ideal of dominion status as the whole goal of nationalist movement, he had not only taken every

opportunity to denounce violence and all forms revolutionary activity, but he went out of his way to panegyrics on the British empire (that "free alliance" "great commonwealth of nations" as he called it at the rec Faridpur conference), and to declare how little was wanting him to undertake to begin to cooperate with governmen Speaking in the Bengal legislative council in March 1925, the motion for the rejection of the ministers' salaries, he declared "I am not opposed to cooperation but cooperation is not possi ble under this system Honest cooperation cannot be offered now because the system does not allow it It can be done when you have improved your system, when there is real give and take, when there is anxiety on the part of government to relieve the distress of the people, to recognise the rights of Indians "

Again at the Bengal provincial nationalist congress, he declared with regard to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms "If there was a chance for self government under it, I would cooperate If some real responsibility were transferred, I would cooperate "

And he affirmed his confidence that he could see "signs of a real change of heart" on the part of the government.

It is clear that the major aim of the Swaraj Party, under the leadership of Das, became to strike a bargain with the gover ment for the reform of the reforms Upto now the government has only gone so far as to appoint a committee, the Muddiman committee which has issued two reports, a majority and minority report, both of which provide a clear exposure of the unworkability of the act Lord Birkenhead encouraged Mr Das with the proposal that he should cooperate in putting down revolutionary violence and it is currently reported that the question of a possible modification of the reform schemes is one of the objects for which the viceroy has made his present visit to Great Britain This is about the sum total of the signs of government's "change of heart" and there is no reason to believe that the government will see any need to hurry to secure another support for its rule in India by rallying the swara

leaders. But a bargain of some sort is inevitable whether in the near future or not and with it the reversion of the swarajists into the liberals of 1914 will be complete. But there will be this difference. The rank and file of the Swaraj Party and the mass of active nationalists up and down the country who have passed through many experiences since 1914 will no longer follow their leaders blindly. The rank and file are already alienated. They are not interested in the parliamentry manoeuvring. Hence a widespred feeling that the nationalist movement is at a standstill which is not confined to the masses. *The Bombay Chronicle* speaks of a "general paralysis and stagnation"; Lala Lajpat Rai of "chaos and confusion". "The political situation is anything but hopeful and encouraging", he, declares, "The people are sunk in drepression. Everything-principles, practices, parties and politics-seem to be in a state of disintegration and dissolution."

There is therefore an admitted failure of the nationalist movement on all sides. Gandhi's political influence has been destroyed. He has admitted the swarajists "defeated and humbled him". His yarn-spinning franchise for membership of the National Congress is arousing a final revolt. At the recent Maharashtra nationalist conference, he was openly required to retire from politis. But the swarajists are not much better off. A pact between them and the government would be an open betrayal of the nationalist movement and a split in the Swaraj Party would be inevitable. It would be the old story over again, Brtish imperialism winning the allegiance of a new set of leaders only to find that they have not the masses behind them.

THE LABOUR PARTY

So far the masses, the millions of illiterate worker and peasants, have been entirely left out of account. True, it has become fashionable to recognise their existence. Even Mr. Das was once insistent on the need of "swaraj for the masses and not for the classes". But events have proved that this is nothing but a verbal trick and means nothing in practice. Several of the swarajist leaders however have been genuinely dismayed at the absorption of the party in bourgeois interest to the utter neglect

of interests of even ordinary labour welfare questions Wi experience of contact with British labour Party leaders in the minds, the result has been the sudden new formation of a Indian labour Party But there are many features connected with this Labour Party which give rise to serious doubts as to its future as an organised movement In the first place it appears to consist only of leaders and they all members of the ligislative assembly Further these leaders are mostly personalities already well known as bourgeois nationalists whose personal rivalries with the nationalist leaders and general standing in the nationalist movement are unaffected by the fact that they appear as leaders of a Labour Party Starting under these handicaps the party is almost poisoned at birth and could almost be written down as a mere parliamentary manoever But the need for attention to labour economic questions not speak of political organisation of labour, is so urgent that it would be strange if the new party could give no help in this direction But whether it can ever become a party of the masses and political organisation too is another question With the present bankruptcy of the nationalist politics, the stage is set for a regrouping Supposing however the Swaraj Party splits as indicated above, will the rank and file go into the new Labour Party? It is extremely unlikely The new Labour Party cannot take the place of a nationalist organisation It must be concluded that its function must be limited to the representation of the needs of the youthful trade union organisation Even so, if it is to become a live organisation respresenting working class interests, its impetus must come from below and not from above If it limits itself to sold work in assisting trade union organisation, the political careerists will leave it, the real trade unionists will come to the fore and it could develop into body of real value and significance

It must be remembered that labour organisation is still at a ery elementhry stage In many respects labour conditions are otoriously the worst in the world Labour legislation is as ackward or more so than in China or Japan Legislation alising the existence of the trade unions is still only pending ot unnaturally therefore trade unions are only weakly develop-

ed and the Indian Trade Union Congress has negligible power. Labour is disgracefully unrepresented in the legislative assembly and provincial councils, while existing labour leaders are only too often merely bourgeois philanthropists or even middle-class careerists bent on obtaining public notice or government recognition.

WANTED—A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

Any Indian party which would avoid the fiasco of present nationalist politics must base itself on a social economic programme for remedying the present disabilties of Indian labour. Demands for adequate labour legislation, including the establishment of the rights of trade organisations must find a prominent place in its programme. It must concentrate its attention on housing, education and social conditions of the people. It must fight the rent oppression of the landlords and work for the improvement of peasant conditions. So far these things have been dropped', because they have been against the interests of the Indian capitalists and landlords. It will be remembered that even Lajpat Rai, now heading the Labour Party, spoke more of the danger of hurting Indian Industries than of helping Indian labour. The nationalist leaders have refused to advance any such programme as we have indicated because they will not countenance an invasion of their positions as capitalists or landloards. Mr. Das called for help from public funds for the Bengal peasants But he must have known that such help would only be swallowed up by the rack-renting landlords and that the real help must come from a revision of the present oppressive rights of the landlords. A popular party based on a real social-economic programme would lose the present nationalist leaders, but it would have the masses behind it. In championing the cause of the masses, it would inevitably be thrown into the struggle against imperialism. British imperialism is the biggest exploiter of the Indian workers and peasants, and the native capitalists and landlords look upon it is their ally in exploitation. Such a party therefore must be more than a labour welfare party; it must be a mass nationalist party. It is along these lines along, the lines of a workers and peasants'

party, that a new nationalist party can rally the whole country to its support and achieve national independence.

(Masses, Vol 1, No 7,
July 1925 and
No 8, August, 1925)

Footnote

1 Here ends the first part published in Masses No 7, July 1975—and continued in the next issue-G.A

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COMMUNISM AND SWARAJ

Although the idea of holding a conference of the India Communists was first mooted by the leaders of the recognised communists groups in India particularly S.A. Dange from Jail, such a conference was actually convened by Satyabhakta, a member of the national revolutionary (terrorist) group in U.P., who was influenced by the October Socialist Revolution and was impressed by the achievements of the Soviet Union. The Conference was held at Kanpur, from 26 to 28 December, 1925. Satyabhakta's aim in convening the conference was to form a legal "Indian National Communist Party" in Kanpur, but in the conference, his own ideas were rejected, and it in fact turned out to be an instrument of bringing together all the known communist groups in the country, and of creating the first elntral Committee of the C.P.I., which framed its first constitution, accepting the leadership of the Comintern. The selection included here is from the presidential address delivered by Singaravelu Chettiar in this historic Conference.

Singaravelu Chettiyar was the founder of the Labour Kisan Party of Hindustan, which was dissolved in the Kanpur Conference, to pave the way for the formation of the C.P.I. It was the first May Day meeting in India, in 1923, held at Madras that brought Singaravelu Chettiyar on the national seene : The May Day Meeting was held under his leadership, against the background of a strike upsurge in Madras and elsewhere in the country. In this meeting he had explained the significance of

the May Day with reference to the growth of the class struggle in India and to the relevance of the formation of a political party of the working class for the attainment of 'labour swaraj' It was in recognition of such services to the cause of the working class that he was given the opportunity of delivering the Presidential address in the First Communist Conference of India

COMMUNISM AND SWARAJ*

(Singaravelu Chettiyar)

Our Countrymen : We have dwelt so far with those that have gone from us. Now we shall speak for those who are with us. Among the peoples of the world, our countrymen alone form the saddest portion of the human race on earth. Bereft of the necessaries of life, food, house and clothing, bereft of the higher necessaries of human life-freedom, equality and knowledge, the majority of our countrymen are far below the level reached by other nations of the world. It is computed that 40 million out of over 300 million of fellow-beings are scantily fed and clothed; and nearly half of this seething mass of humanity are illhoused and are devoid of decent human habitation. More than 80 per cent are illiterate. Nearly a fourth are what are known as untouchables—a species of humanity who have no other social relationship with the other classes of their countrymen than to serve their masters. They have no right of entry into publisc temples They cannot bathe in public tanks. In some places they cannot use public roads. Then we have a million or two intellectuals who cannot serve their countrymen except in ways prescribed by the alien rulers of the land. In the land of ours to agitate against the wrongs under which many of our countrymen suffer is oftentimes considered objectionable, and sometimes treated as crime. The growing taxation of the necessaries of life is becoming intolerable. With it grows the expenditure especially the military expenditure.

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*Form G. Adhikari (ed) : *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India,* Vol. II (People's Publishing House, New Delhi-1947), pp. 646-653

Over sixty crores are spent annually for a mercenary army to keep out imaginary or fanciful foes The government of the country is not merely overmanned but overpaid In the annual budget the essentials of national wellbeing are sacrificed for nonessentials The health of the nation is far from satisfactory Millions and millions die of preventable diseases It the vital statistics is in any measure a test of civilised existence, Indian cities stand at the lowest ebb ever reached by any other country in the world Education has become so costly that only a few thousand can afford to avail themselves of the highest education and culture among these vast millions Children of the soil are disarmed and unarmed and stand helpless to defend their home and their hearth when necessary To recount the tale of woe under which unhappy country suffers will require more time and energy than I could afford in this address A few rich men are more bent upon making riches for their own comfort, convenience and luxury than for the common weal Of those who suffer most are the peasants of the country, and who alone number 2/3 of the population Their life in the villages is aweful Swept by famine, pestilence and disease, their existence is kept up by the high birth rates which often accompany poverty and destitution The agricultural labour, while providing all, can have no direct access even to a morsel of what he procures by his toil Living amidst plenty, he cannot get even the crumbs The industrial workers in the city are unable to make both ends meet on account of their low wages While all other countries are trying to secure a living wage to their countrymen, India alone does not even think about it and much less express it This is the sum and substance of the politico economic conditions and under which a fifth of the human race has its existence under the British administration in India Dear comrades how do you propose to better these deplorable conditions of human existence under which you and I and the vast majority of our fellows, have the fortune of the misfortune to live in this ancient land of ours? In fact you should answer in this conference how we communists propose to do for effecting a radical change from our present miserable life to one of joy and happiness which is the birthright of every human being on this planet This answer I propose to give in

the following pages of this of address, subject of course to your correction and amendment.

Communism and Swaraj : In the great struggle for swaraj which is now in progress throughout the country, we communists have to take up the greatest share in the struggle. Though small, even negligible in numbers, we form the vanguard of the future workers' state of India. Therefore we have to see that the workers and peasants in the land have their rights recognised in any constitutional change that may come about in the immediate future. Whatever may be the form of swaraj which we may get, the workers' and peasants' right to live a decent haman life here on earth should be vouchsafed to them. Whether swaraj is one of the home-rule or free state or republic, workers' right to be represented in the governance of the country by their fellow workers or by the intelligentsia of the country ought to be secured to them. Without at this right being secured or conceded to the workers, no form of swaraj is worth having. Therefore it is the duty of the communists to be vigilant enough to see that the future form of swaraj does not essentially become bourgeois, but substantially becomes proletarian. In fact complete self-determination and universal workers' suffrage ought to be the ideal towards which we communists have to stand in the next constitutional change that may come about in the near future. I therefore, request you to consider in this conference the methods our party has to adopt, with or without the conjunction of the existing political parties in the country, for securing the rights of the workers and peasants in the coming swaraj state. The motto therefore of every Indian communist ought to be : "No life without swaraj and no swaraj without workers."

Communism and Congress

We should define what our attitude shall be as regards this national organisation. This is one organisation whose potentiality for good was great. The National Congress was once a power in the land. Though bourgeois in origin, in scope and outlook, it was the one organisation which continually voiced the political grievances of the nation. Under the leader-

ship of Mahatma Gandhi it was a live force for at least a year During the campaign of the noncooperation movement the prestige of the Congress was at its height It aimed at swaraj without defining it or much less understanding it It spoke in the name of the people It acted in the name of the people When its great leader called the nation to offer nonviolent fight against the bureaucracy, thousands responded and they placed their all at the altar of freedom of the land But it struck blindly Instead of directing its whole weight against the bureaucracy and rendering it impotent for evil, it struck wildly in all directions It burdened itself with the redress of all sorts of grievances, political, social, economical and religious and therefore it got itself hopelessly entangled in mutually contradictory ideas and actions If it had only struck for swaraj and sought for the cooperation of the workers in the fight for it, it would have succeeded But it weighted itself with all sorts of considerations including those ethics, that the NCO campaign which opened so brilliantly under its auspices broke down under its own weight, and the retreat of the movement which began at Bardoli ended in the arrest and confinement of its great leader without a word of protest from his followers The bureaucracy triumphed and the leaders humbled Amidst turmoil and confusion in the nationalist ranks, the surviving leaders of the movement quarelled among themselves and split into various parties and the split is still undergoing further division A very numerous party among congressmen who survived the debacle at Bardoli, formed themselves into a new party and calling themselves swarajists, they sought to capture the legislative councils and began to give fight to the bureaucracy within the councils which they once abandoned. But here again the bourgeois mentality has begun to show its cloven hoofs even in the council fight, and the Swarajist Party which under Deshbandhu showed some clean fight, has begun to degenerate into a fight for loaves and fishes of office among themselves From this short resume of the rise and fall of various Congress parties engaged in the pursuit for swaraj, one thing stands clear before the nation, that it is imposssible for the bourgeoisie of the country to secure swaraj for the nation unaided Without the active cooperation of the working masses, the intelligentsia

of the country are incapable of winning swaraj. Neither the Congressmen nor the present dominant party of swarajists will be able to bend the bureaucracy to their will without the active cooperation of organised workers. It is enough to state that the Congress bourgeois leadership lacked sincerity in their relation to the workers of the land. The pious hope now and then expressed by various parties, of helping, educating and organising the workers, both urban and rural, will never fructify for the simple reason that their mutual interests are opposed and contradictory. Therefore it is the duty of the communists to take up the organisation of the masses, and endeavour to obtain swaraj. Whether with or without the cooperation of other political parties of the country, that is for you to decide.

Communism and Swarajists

Council entry, with or without office, has become the dominant plank of the swarajists. It stands to the credit of the swarajists to have brought the bureaucracy to a halt in its triumphant career. This temporary defeat of the bureaucracy has made the pureaucracy look small in the eyes of the world. But the Indian bureaucracy, like the other bureaucracies of the rest of the world, is inexhaustible in its resources, and it is too shrewd and too powerful to be esily defeated. Swarajists will be readily mistaken, as they should learn from the split in their own ranks, if they held that unaided and with a house divided against themselves, they can bend the bureaucracy to yield to them. Singlehanded they cannot. Nothing short of completely paralysing the bureaucratic administration will bring the bureaucracy to its knees, but to achieve this consummation the active cooperation of the organised labour is necessary for any party bent upon achieving swaraj. Here again the communists have to learn from the successive failure of every political party in this country that in the organisation of the workers and peasants lies their salvation and that of their country. Whether you have to agitate for direct labour representation in the councils is also one of the subjects which you may tackle in your present deliberations.

Communism and Suppressed Classes

Hitherto we have spoken about the relationship of our Communist Party to the various political organisations in the country We shall now briefly deal with two other items of programme adopted by the Congress in the struggle for swaraj We shall take first the problem of untouchability and state my opinion as to our party's relationship to the problem It should be clearly understood that from the standpoint of communism this question of untouchability is purely an economical problem Whether this class of people are admitted into temples or tanks or streets is not a question connected with our fight for swaraj With the advent of swaraj, these social and religious disabilities will fall of themselves Communists have neither caste nor creed nor religion As Hindus, Mohammadas or Christians, they may have any private views about them The question of untouchability is essentially associated with economic dependence of the vast mass of these Indians No sooner their economic dependence is solved, the social stigma of untouchability is bound to disappear It is this inequality in the ownership of land which is mainly responsible for the existence of helotry of the vast masses of the suppressed peoples Not mere entry into temples, tanks and roads will raise these unfortunates in social scale in equal terms with their affluent brethen The problem of untouchability is essentially an agrarian problem, and unless this economic dependence is relieed talk of removing untouchability is basely insincere While the non changer is talking big of injustice and inhumanity of treating our bellow being as untouchables, he carefully avoids any reference to their starving, famishing homes Here is an example of the bourgeois mentality of the Indian reformer who, while waxing eloquent against social wrongs, is significantly silent over the economic degradation to which the country's bourgeoisie have confined these millions of our agrarian workers The only rational way for raising these unfortunates from their social degradation is to raise them to the level of economic equality with their more fortunate brethren To talk of removing untouchabuity by itself is obviously insincere and grotesque We communists should therefore press the economic claims of the suppressed classes by advocating a living wage to

be given to them by which they can make their life at least endurable.

A word with reference to Khaddar and its potentiality to win for us swaraj. Khaddar is hand-made or handwoven cloth. It was claimed in the days of the NCO movement that by producing khaddar in enormous puantity, Indian can dispense with British-made cloth which is imported to the enormous sum of 60 million sterling annually. It was further thought that by clothing the nation by our own cloth, British cloth would be effectively boycotted, and to that extent, the British worker would be injured, and that this injury would give rise to such clamour that the British government will be compelled to go down and concede all what we wanted. It was further argued that if the nation, especially the workers, should take to the wholesale production of Khaddar, it would substantially help the unemployed in India in earning something by which they can supplement their scantly wages paid by the capitalists and the landlords. All these sounded very well during the shortlived enthusiasm of the NCO movement, but when these theories were confronted with actualties, it was found that Khaddar production had its own limitations. To wear Khaddar as a national costume in our fight for swaraj, we can grant that it may be necessary, in the absence of any other national uniform, but that it would suppliment machine-made cloth is an impossible feat. And that such production would effectively boycott foreign cloth is still more problematical. The Americans were never able to boycott foreign cloth during their fight for independence, in spite of their homogeneity of colour, race and religion and their intense patriotism It was Bunker Hill that decided their independence, and not the boycott of British goods. So also the Irish in their recent fight for a free state. To hold furthe that it would be an economics. For the Indian working man wants higher wages and more leisure. To sak the famishing worker to drudge at the Charkha, is simply cruel. If the agricultural labourer has no work for few months in the year, let him be provided with work which will give him higher wages or let him be given the opportunity to acquire higher knowledg so as to raise himself equal to his more cultured brethren in the cities, but let us not make him

drudge again throughout his weary life without any prospect of any intallectual improvement Mankind has been steadily growing out of manual drudgery by the aid of the machine, and this has secured him some leisure for higher pursuit of life which has raised him higher in the scale of animal existence But to drive him again back to manual labour which he can dispense with is not simply cruel but absurd Hand spinning and hand-weaving, except for some indispensable and necessary purpose, have gone the way of all flesh, and they have become extinct as the dodo and no amount of patriotism will bring back the primitive art so as to clothe a whole nation of 300 millions But to make it in a limited scale so as to serve the figehters for swaraj as a uniform is possible, and this is the Spinning Association we hope will succeed in doing Whether it is a solutely necessary for us communists to wear it on all occasions that you have to decide yourself individually

SECTION III

SYSTEMATIC THEORIES

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Systematic theory building is a new dimension in Indian political science By systematic theory building is understood the formulation of generalisations about a phenomenon in the light of the empirical data gathered and analysed with the aid of a rigorous methods and spelt out logical assumptions This is an academic exercise that had its beginnings in the early 20th Century in the West, and later on taken over by political scientists in India too The earliest such experiments in India were done, of course, by Western Scholars themselves

Not all the selections included in this section captioned 'systemetic Theories" belong to the type of works under discussion Strictly speaking, only the selections from Rudolph and Rudolph as well as Rajni Kothari qualify themselves for this nomenclature The work Norman D Palmer has been included for its pioneering nature And those of D E Smith and Philip Spratt for their focus on the two of the most divisive forces workig in the Indian Political system, viz. Communalism and Linguism or Regionalism, respectively

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THE NATURE OF INDIAN POLITICS

Norman D.Palmer has the distinction of being the first one to apply the Eastonian concept of "Political System" to politics in India and of having come out with one of the earliest theories on the general nature of Indian politics. In this first book of political sociology on India, published in 1961, Norman D. Palmer describes and analyses the government, politics, and foreign policy of independent India, against the background of early Indian Political thought and institutions ; the contributions of Hindus, Moguls, and the British to Indian political development ; the experience under British rule and the Indian response to that rule ; and finally the contributions of the significant Indian leaders to the independence struggle and to the making of modern India. He has taken special care to deal with the nature of the Indian State, the role of Nehru and other more important leaders, the party system, the political aspect of the Indian experiment in democratic socialism, and the foreign policy of free India. Although the work of Palmer has been surpassed by more refined theories of later origin, his contribution as a pioneer in the field of politics in modern India cannot be minimized. In the selection included here, the author deals with (1) Sources of Indian political thought , (2) Leaders and Leadership ; (3) Characteristics of Indian Society, and (4) Prospects for Democracy in India.

THE NATURE OF INDIAN POLITICS*

Narman D. Palmer

To a casual Western observer the existing Indian political system may seem to be essentially a Western Import Upon closer view, however, this system begins to lose some of the stamp of undigested foreign borrowing, and to assume forms which are more closely related to India's peculiar traditions, experience, and needs. Beneath familiar forms are unfamiliar practices and attitudes The Indian political structure is still in the process of becoming, and its final shape is still not so clear as one might first assume. The Indianization of Indian politics is still going on.

In his important study of the Indian Parliament, Professor Morris Jones warned that in approaching the study of Indian politics the Western student ' is well advised to be on his guard. He should not assume, for instance, that institutions with familiar names are necessarily performing wholly familiar functions. He should be ready to detect political trends and forces in what he will be tempted to set aside as non-political movements He should be prepared to find the behaviour of those who hold apparently familiar political positions conditioned considerations which he would not normally associate with such places."[1] Hence special consideration should be given to the nonpolitical factors in India, which often will prove to be more potent in shaping

* From Norman D Palmer, *The Indian Political System*, George Allen & Unwin (London, 1961) Pp 1-18.

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Indian political behaviour than trends and institutions which are clearly political.

Obviously there are various "levels of politics" in India, as Professor Morris-Jones has noted. Because it is less familiar and less immediately obvious it is particularly important to recognize what Morris-Jones has called "the presence in Indian politics of a manner of political thought and behaviour which it is difficult to regard simply as a local modification of some aspect of Western politics. It draws its inspiration from religious teachings and represents a development of an aspect of Gandhian politics. It leads its own life, alongside and not wholly unconnected with the world of 'normal' politics, but largely independent of it. It is possible to say that it is not politics at all; in that case the Western pattern (of course, with its modifications) is left in sole command as the only pattern of political conduct available. But it seems more in keeping with the facts to allow that it is politics, even if it is of a kind quite distinct from that of modern Europe."[2]

I Sources of Indian Political Thought

At the present time India is engaged in a serious search for its own past. To the extent that this search results in excessive glorification of the past and an unobjective approach to it, it has a harmful effect, not least of all in encouraging ultra-nationalism and a rejection of ideas simply because they are not "Indian", but to the extent that it helps Indians to understand and appreciate their own history and traditions, it is wholesome. Indians are often criticized as being unhistorically minded. In *The Soul of India*, one of the most penetrating interpretations of Indian history, Amaury de Riencourt wrote: "The key to an understanding of Indian culture, lies precisely in this total indifference toward history, toward the very process of time."[3] This may have been true in past decades, when the minds of Indians were concentrated on other things, when they were isolated from each other, and when local and regional influence predominated; and it was generally true during the long period of British dominance. But today the Indian people are making

a conscious effort to understand their past and to evole political, economic, and social practices and institutions which are in keeping with their own genius and traditions as well assuitable for modern problems and needs

India has a long and rather confused history, and doubtless parts of it might well be forgotten but there are lessons as well as warnings in India's past Over the Centuries many people have come into India from other places, contiguous or remote, and some of these peoples—including the Aryans, the Moguls, and the British—have extended their control over much of the subcontinent The golden age of Hinduism came many centuries ago, before the beginning of the Christian era The great classics of ancient India—the Vedas, the Upanishads, the *Ramayana, the Mahabharata,* and many others date from this early period and they have had a profound influence on patterns of thought and behaviour through the centuries

During the long centuries since the full flowering of Hindu culture and philosophy many other influences have entered the main stream of Indian political thought Foremost among these have been the impact of Muslim institutions and concepts of administration, which were dominant in India for several cen tur es, notably during the apogee of Mogul rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of Western ideas and institutions during the past three centuries or more and most strongly during the past century

"Contemporary Indian political thought, therefore, stems from many sources, Eastern and western, ancient and modern"[4] For all the efforts of the revivalists of Hindu traditions during the Hindu Renaissance of the late ninsteenth and early twentieth centuries, and for all the present emphasis on the rediscovery of India's past, it is difficult to find any continuity between ancient Hindu political thought and the political ideas that move modern India, or to appraise the relative influence of the many streams of thought that have influenced modern India "Indeed, Indian political thought is probably as diverse as that of the West In view of the antiquity and the richness of Indian civilization, this should occasoin on surprise"[5]

(1) Gandhi Mahatma Gandhi was a master in using nonpolitical methods to achieve political ends In South Africa he experimented with a technique of nonviolent opposition which he called *satyagraha*—often translated as "soul force"—which he professed to have borrowed *from ancient Indian teachings and from many other sources*, including the writings of Tolstoy Upon his return to India he soon developed the practice of *satyagraha* into the most formidable weapon the British had ever encountered in the national resistance movement *Satyagraha* is still practiced in India, often in ways of which Gandhi himself would have disapproved

Gandhi also used fasting most effectively as a political weapon This practice, too, is occasionally used in independent India In December, 1952, a respected Telugu leader Potti Sriramulu, fasted unto death on the issue of a separate Andhra state, and shortly after his death the Government of India yielded to the demand for this new state In 1956 the Chief Minister of Bombay State, Morarji Desai, went on a fast in consequence of protest and violence in Ahmedabad over the decision to retain Bombay as a bilingual state, with an enlarged area

Gandhi harked back to ancient themes in developing some of his distinctive concepts and approaches, in what might be called his nonpolitical approach to politics To him *Satyagraha* was an application of the concept of *ahimsa*, meaning non violence in more than a physical sense In his own distinctive way Gandhi proclaimed the intimate relationship of religion and politics, and he often applied ethical concepts to political action On innumerable occasions he referred to the *Bhagavad Gita* as the guide to his political as well his spiritual life In his *Autobiography* he wrote that "there is no other God than Truth", and that "my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics, and I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not known what religion means "[7]

In his teachings and actions, Gandhi gave a more positive

twist to the *Bhagavad Gita* and to such ancient concepts as *dharma* and *ahimsa*, and in his techniques of *satyagraha* he seemed to fuse Indian and non-Indian concepts into an effective instrument of political action; but he taught his fellow-countrymen to be proud of their own ideals and traditions and to adopt what was good and useful for them from the outside world without being untrue to themselves or to their past. "By persuading them to draw their strength and inspiration from India and cease being magnetted by the West, the Mahatma impregnated the British-created middle class with Indian ideas and ideals. This was his greatest revolution."[8]

Another ethical principle Gandhi attempted to apply to politics was that of the relationship of ends to means : that no ends, however desirable, should be sought by unworthy means. "The basic lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught us," wrote Jawaharlal Nehru in his report to the All-India Congress Committee when he relinquished the office of President of the Congress Party in January 1955, "was that means govern ends and that we should never adopt wrong means even for right ends." The leaders of independent India often do not follow this lesson (or other lessons Gandhi taught) but they have attempted to adhere to it and they often refer to it as a guide to their action in the domestic or international fields.

Gandhi generally remained somewhat aloof from the Indian National Congress, but he was the dominant figure in the Indian nationalist movement for many years. Many of his acts and teachings which seemed to have the least political significance proved to be the most astute kind of politics. He never held a party or government position, but he was consulted by the British Government and by the leaders of the Indian National Congress on almost all crucial issues.

Gandhi's influence is not particularly manifest in Indian political life today, although spokesmen of nearly all political parties and ideologies frequently refer to him and pay at least lip service to his teachings. Many Indians are distressed because their Government seems to be functioning in ways obviously

different from those advocated by "the Father of the Nation" Nehru often called Gandhi's political heir, is particularly sensitive to charges that he is betraying the principles of the man who was his acknowledged master and guide His defence is that the Government is acutely aware of Gandhi's teachings and is applying them wherever possible For example he often refers to the proper relation of ends and means in domestic and foreign policy But Nehru who is a political realist as well as an idealist is frank to confess that it is not possible to conduct the affairs of a large new nation in the complex world of today wholly in accordance with the rather nebulous and often conflicting principles of government and society which Gandhi enunciated

Because independent India is obviously not being run along Gandhian lines, many observers, in India and elsewhere, insist that the Mahatma has left almost no impact on India today. In a book published in 1960 Frank Moraes, one of India's leading journalists wrote "The imprint of Gandhism, built and maintained over three decades, has for all practical purpose vanished within a decade"[9] This conclusion is justified only if it is applied to the more obvious aspects of contemporary Indian politics, it is doubtful that it applies to the spirit in which Indian politics is in fact being carried on, and almost certainly it is not true with respect to Indian life and thought generally Gandhi gave a new cast to modern India Without him, the course of the independence struggle would have been very different, without him independent India would have been a different and less distinctive nation "Many Indians disagree today with parts of his philosophy Now that independence has been won, most find it hard or inconvenient to put into practice his concept of non violence But much of modern India would be incomprehensible without reference to the profoundly exciting effect of his many sided idealism"[10]

(2) Bhave, Narayan, and Kripalani In one way or another all of the leaders of independent India were influenced by Ganhdi This influence is more apparent in the nonpolitical th[illegible] the political realm, but it is by no means a [illegible]

After all, the topmost leaders of India today, almost to a man, were followers of Gandhi. Many of Gandhi's followers are active in that wide area of Indian life in which politics and religion seem to mix in peculiar and pervasive ways. Notable among these men are Vinoba Bhave and, in different degrees, Jayaprakash Narayan and Acharya Kripalani.

Bhave, an elderly Gandhian who professes to have no interest in politics as snch, is nevertheless one of the strongest political forces in India today. His Bhoodan Yagna movement is leading what Kriplani has called "the greatest revolution since Gandhi." It is a nonviolent revolution, and economic programme with a moral and spiritual purpose, which, as Nehru has said, "reaches the minds and hearts of the people." It calls for the sacrificial giving of land and other possessions as a means of spiritual regeneration. "Only in India one feels, could there be such a movement .....It shows how powerful still is the moral force of the Gandhian outlook."[11]

Bhave started his movement in 1951 in the Telengana area of what was then Hyderabad State, and was largely responsible for changing the attitudes of people who only a few years before had participated in or otherwise aided armed Communist uprisings. The highest leaders of the Government of India visit Bhave from time to time, and they go out of their way in showing deference to him.

Narayan, a leading Indian Socialist, sometimes referred to as a possible successor to Nehru, was so profoundly affected by Bhave and the Bhoodan movement that he announced his intention of abandoning politics to devote his life to this cause. In spite of his "retirement" he has continued to be influential in the Praja Socialist Party and to criticize or to give advice to the Government of India, solicited or unsolicited. He has been outspoken in his criticisms of the "soft" policies of the Government on the actions of the Chinese Communists in Tibet and along the Himalayan frontiers. He has advocated closer relations with Pakistan, and he has personally visited Pakistan since the Ayub

Khan regime, came into power He advocates some form of "Partyless democracy" although he has never defined precisely what he means by this phrase, and he favours "the reconstruction of Indian policy." Without questioning in any way the sincerity of Narayan's dedication to Bhoodan, it may well be that his "retirement" from politics will prove to be the most astute political move he has ever made He is almost the only Indian leader, aside from Nehru and Bhave, who has a considerable mass following

For many years Kripalani has been a prominent figure in Indian politics and society He held high positions in three political parties He is a former President of the Indian National Congress he was the founder and head of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP), and he served as Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party He is a powerful orator and a brilliant writer He has long been an independent and rather enigmatic political leader Strongly influenced by the non-modern aspects of Gandhi's thought, he has been increasingly restless under the conditions under which Indian politics have been conducted In 1960 he resigned from the P S P , party because he disagreed with some of its policies and partly, so he said, because he wanted his 'freedom" from the demands of day-to day political activities. In his new role Kripalani, like Narayn, will nominally be out of political life, but he will almost certainly continue to speak frankly on all subjects, political or spiritual, that interest his facile mind.

(3) Nehru Since the death of Gandhi more than a decade ago Nehru has been without a peer in India. He has been a truly great leader of his country and his people, a charismatic leader, to whom millions of people have looked for the "gift of grace" Personal contacts are of the greatest importance in India, and Nehru, like Gandhi before him, has kept in touch with the people and has established a kind of mystical relationship with them. India is a land where the belief in *darshan* (the benefical effect of being in the presence of a great man) is strong and pervasive, and Nehru has made the most of this national trait By his example he has sought toth is win the loyalty

of the Indian masses, not so much to himself as a leader as to the principles for which he stands and to the nation he is trying to build. This is leadership in the highest sense, and India has been fortunate to have a man of Nehru's calibre and orientation at the helm during the formative years of nationhood.

Consciously or unconsciously, however, Nehru has stifled initiative and leadership by others by the dominating, even domineering, position he has held for so long in Indian public life. S.K. Patil, a strong man of the Congress Party who is India's Minister of Food and Agriculture, stated recently, quite bluntly, that while "Nehru is the greatest asset we have because he is just like a banyan tree under whose shade millions take shelter," nevertheless he is also a liability, "because in the shade of that banyan tree, biologically, nothing grows."[12]

India today faces a crisis of leadership that raises grave questions for the future. The generation of outstanding leaders that piloted India to independence along nonviolent lines is fast passing from the scene. One by one giants of yesterday have gone, and those who are left are well past the peak of their powers and toward the end of their journeys. Nehru, for all his seemingly inexhaustible energy and buoyancy, is over seventy years of age, and the question, "After Nehru, what ?" recurs with growing urgency. In all probability the new generation of leaders will be less well educated and much less oriented toward the West; possibly they will achieve a new synthesis between Indian and Western ways and will find new sources of strength in India's traditions and peoples. But they will also be responsible for running a huge state in a complicated world, and they can hardly do this successfully by finding their political, economic, and social views solely in the *Bhagavad Gita*, in the concepts of *sarvodaya*, and in the Bhoodan Yogna movement.

III Characteristics of Indian Society

(a) **Problems of Social Communication.** Indian society is still characterized by a considerable lack of mobility and by the primacy of local interests over larger considerations. Distances,

geographical and social are great in India Fewer than 30 per cent of the people are literate Most of the great decisions are made by a small educated elite whose members for the most part speak English, are familiar with Western thought and institutions hold most of the important positions in business government, and the professions, and are often out of touch with the masses of the Indian people Mass illiteracy, social conservatism, geographical distances, extreme localism and a fairly rigid social structure cut off the great majority of the people from effective participation in the political life of the country

Social communication is difficult in India, and many of the channels of communication commonly available in Western countries are relatively unimportant in the Indian setting Illiteracy and regional and linguistic differences lessen the influence of such media of mass communication as the press and the radio. Informal channels of communication are especially important. Like China, India seems to have a most effective 'grapevine" method of transmitting information Personalities are important in Indian life generally, including politics "The primary form of communication with the masses is still personal contact Even the use of posters or of simple pamphlets has been found inadequate both by political parties and by the government In personal contact the visual impression plays a weighted role Thus visual symbols such as the spinning wheel used by Gandhi are potent carriers of a political message Thus too, the technique of an itinerant leader such as Vinoba Bhave takes, on added importance The personality of leaders and their ability to have a direct impact on their audience will doubtless continue to play an outsized role in Indian politics for some time "[13]

(b) Public Opinion and Pressure Groups—In spite of the mass illiteracy and relative lack of social communication, public opinion is potent in India, even though the study of it as a political force is still quite undeveloped [14] In India, as elsewhere, various publics may be discerned The most obvious publics are the uneducated many, whose role in influencing public policy is largely negative and general, and the elite few, who control the effective channels of access and who exercise most of the

power. Within each of these publics many sub-divisions may be found, especially on particular issues. Divisions between North and South, between regional and linguistic groups between the literate and illiterate, between villagers and towns people, between communal and caste groups have a profound effect on political life and behaviour.

Pressure groups also are to be found in India, although perhaps to a lesser degree and in different forms from those in Western states. "Three main types of pressure groups may be distinguished in the Indian setting : (1) special-interest organizations of fairly recent origin representing modern bases of social and economic association familiar to the Western observer, such as trade unions and business groups, social welfare agencies, or youth and women's organizations; (2) organizations representing traditional social relationships, such as caste and religious groups and (3) organizations representing the Gandhian ideological heritage," such as the Sarva Seva Sangh, the main agency of the Sarvodaya movement, whose outstanding activity is the Bhoodan Yagna movement of Vinoba Bhave. The exact role of these pressure groups is hard to determine, but they obviously exert considerable influence on particular issues.

(c) New Classes. In traditional Hindu society the classes that mattered were the high-caste Hindus, notably the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. In Moghul times a new ruling class of Muslims governed the country, but they made relatively little impact on the masses of the people, who were mostly Hindus. The British became a new ruling aristocracy, and they trained and associated with them a group of Western-educated and Western-oriented Indians, who formed a new class in economic and political life ; if not so obviously in Indian society generally. This Western-educated group split up into various classes. Some continued to the end as loyal servants of British rule, while others furnished the top leadership of the nationalist movement.

Gandhi raised up another new class of persons of various castes and backgrounds who were more clearly identified with the masses of the people and with Indian traditions and outlook.

Some of the surviving members of this new class have apparently sloughed off the Gandhian tradition Some are trying to continue it

A different new class may now be emerging, with deeper roots in local and regional society—a class neither as Westernized in education or outlook as the new classes which developed in the days of British rule nor as devoted to India's past traditions as some of the more conservative followers of Gandhi or some of the many thousands of *sadhus* and other "holy men" who presumably devote their lives to nonmaterial things[16] This new class—perhaps one should say this new generation—may be able to achieve a more satisfactory synthesis of the many values, foreign and indigenous, which compete for the loyalties of Indians today and which cause that "torment in our minds" of which Nehru has spoken The members of this new class will presumably place greater emphasis on constructive service in building a new India than on the traditional values of renunciation and sacrifice

(d) Consensus and Synthesis An interesting problem for exploration would be the extent to which a genuine political consensus exists in India today The idea of consensus is deeply ingrained in Indian traditions and practices[17] It is much more in keeping with traditional ways and attitudes that Western concepts such as decision by majority vote It has been practiced for centuries in village councils and in other groupings at the higher levels of social and political organization For all the traditional emphasis on consensus and for all the current emphasis on India as a unified nation, Indian society today, is, as Professor Morris Jones has pointed out, "a fragmented society, a society with an absence of a basic consensus" This "absence of consensus' theme", states Professor Morris Jones, "has been central to an understanding of modern Indian politics[18]

Some students of Indian history and politics would insist that a remarkable degree of consensus has existed throughout Indian history and that this consensus still exists on fundamentals Historically, it arises out of the unifying forces in Indian social and religious life, notably Hinduism and the caste

system. At the present time it is reinforced by the common experience and challenge of building a new nation, by the widespread acceptance of the basic decisions which have been made regarding the nature of the new state, including the decision to establish a "socialist pattern of society." It is also reinforced by an almost unparalleled continuity and quality of national leadership. Undoubtedly Nehru himself, the chief political spokesman for India for a generation and the dominant figure in the Indian scene generally since the assassination of Gandhi early in 1948 has been a great unifying influence, and has done much to develop a high degree of political consensus, even in 'a fragmented society."

Among the finest traditions of Indian society have been those of assimilation, tolerance, and synthesis, as illustrated in the two great religions (or religion-philosophical systems) which originated in the Indian subcontinent, Hinduism and Budhism. These qualities have given a distinctive flavor to Indian life and culture. They help to explain how ever the centuries India tolerated and to a large degree absorbed many different racial groups and cultures. Out of the blending of the old and the new, the indigenous and the foreign, a distinctively Indian culture has emerged. To be sure, cultures as divergent from the mainstream of Hindu culture as those of the Muslims and the British were not wholly assimilated, but they did merge with the dominant Hindu strain to from that unique synthesis which is the stamp of the culture of modern India.

"The tradition of India," in the view of a profound student of Indian history, K.M. Panikkar, "has always been one of synthesis ..a singular ability to absorb the culture of others and assimilate it without losing her own identity. It is the synthesis of Aryan and Dravidian that laid the basis of Hindu civilization...The prolonged contact with Islam and profound significance for every aspect of Indian life."[19] India later became the "meeting-ground of the East and the West." Indeed, as G.K. Gokhale observed in 1911 at the Universal Races Conference in London. "whereas the contact of the West with other countries had only been external, in India the West had so to say entered

into the very bone and marrow of the East "[20] Arnold Toynbee has pointed out that the Western impact on India was more intimate than on any other part of Asia, although of all the major Asian civilizations, the dominant civilization of India, the Hindu, *is most alien to the civilization of the West* [21]

The result of "the meeting of East and West" in India is thus summarized by Panikkar, in terms of the assimilation-tolerance synthesis trilogy

" the inheritance that India has stepped into is only partly Hindu and Indian The inheritance from the West is of no less importance in many fields Modern India does not live under the laws of Manu Her mental background and equipment, though largely influenced by the persistence of Indian tradition, have been moulded into their present shape by over a hundred years of Western education, extending practically to every field of mental activity Its social ideals are not what Hindu society had for long cherished, but those assimilated from the West and derived predominantly from the teachings of Western social thinkers In fact it will be no exaggeration to say that the New Indian State represents ideals and principles which are the results of an effective, even if imperfect, synthesis between the East and the West"[22]

IV Prospects for Democracy in India

One of the greatest experiments in human history is going on in India today. It is the experiment of many millions of people trying to attain a tolerable standard of existence and decent political, economic, and social institutions in the face of tremendous obstacles from within and from without, and to achieve these goals in a democratic way. There are many forces inside India which tend to pull her in a different direction.

The factos which militate against democracy are indeed formidable.

The Indian political tradition is far more authoritarian than

democratic. At no time in her long history was India reall united. Prior to 1947 those who most nearly succeeded i unifying India were foreign conquerors, notably the Moguls anc the British. The social systems which developed in the Indiar subcontinent were varied indeed, but almost without exception they emphasized the group rathar than the individual and produced social conflict and immobility. Communalism was a seriously divisive force, especially affecting relations between Hindus and Muslims. The caste system of the Hindus, whatever its utility and justification in past centuries, became rigid and divisive, and those who were outside the pale,—the "untouchables"—had hardly any rights at all.

Today untouchability is legally abolished, and most of the leaders of India strongly oppose the excesses of communalism and the caste system; but it is nevertheless true that casteism and communalism[23] are still among the most powerful forces in India, and their influence is generally divisive and undemocratic. "Caste and community are still in everyday life the significant units of social actions with most people (of India) ..Casteism and communalism, therefore, continue to influence political activity at every stage from the panchayat right up to Parliament."[24]

It is hard to bring the illiterate masses, living mostly in scattered villages, into active participation in the life of the nation ; and until this is achieved such "democracy" as exists will be imposed from above and will be guided by the few. In a country where means as well as ends are so important can the end of democracy be achieved by essentially undemocratic means?

India is still bedeviled by local and regional loyalties. There is still little sense of national unity. For a nation in only the second decade of its existence this fact is hardly surprising, but it is an ever present danger, one of which Nehru and other Indian leaders are acutely aware. The decentralizing tendencies in India are strengthened by linguistic and historical differences and by mutual suspicions. On the one hand, India is still in search of national unity, and centrifugal tendencies are strong ; on the other, the Central Government has assumed an increas-

ing amount of authority and power Thus democracy is threatened by both centripetal and centrifugal tendencies India lacks a well developed party system and as far as the Central Government is concerned it has been almost a one party state The situation is different in a few of the States, but in most of these exceptional cases the opposition that had developed to the point of effectiveness could hardly be called wholesome from the democratic point of view

Pressures from without as well as from within place India s experiment in democracy in peril The general world situation, especially as it affects, Asia, is not conducive to genuine democracy The new nations of Asia need to marshall their limited resources to improve the life conditions of their people They need time to deal with internal problems of desperate urgency But the outside world impinges upon them, and makes their task doubly difficult

India, with one of the lowest standards of living in the world and with a rapidly increasing population, must find ways and means to meet the growing demands of more and more people If her present leaders who have deliberately chosen the democratic way, fail to meet these needs they may be forced to give way to other leaders who will take India along authoritarian paths in the direction of communalism or some form of totalitarianism India needs to grow more food, to find ways of providing employment for more people to deal with the growing problem of the ' educated unemployed ' in the towns and cities and with the vast amount of underemployment in the countryside to improve the standards of political life, to identify people generally with the effort at national development, to give them a sense of belonging to the new nation of which they are citizens A well established democratic system would be severely tested by these problems and the Indian system of democracy has not yet developed deep roots

It is therefore easy to give way to doubts and fears about the suitability of democracy in the Indian environment Skeptics and prophets of gloom abound, in India and elsewhere Indians of such diverse background as Narayan, Suniti Kumar Chatterji,

educational system in India had been patterned along British lines, and those who were exposed to it were more familiar with Western institutions and ideas than they were with their own heritage. The British contributed to India a sound administrative structure and concepts of law and order. Directly or indirectly they also contributed a sense of liberty under law.

The prospects for democracy in India have been immeasurably heightened by the success of the Indian political experiment during the first decade and a half of independence. As has been pointed out, India has been fortunate in its leadership. On the whole, the Constitution is working well. Economic and social mobility and to greater participation by the people in the life of the nation. The Five Year Plans have speeded the process of economic development, and some aspects of them, such as the Community Development Program and the National Extension Service, have had a direct and appreciable impact on millions of people. The basic decisions have been made, and the great task ahead is to preserve past gains and to make independence meaningful for the masses of the people. There is a new spirit in India, a new feeling of self-confidence, a new awakening. More and more Indians are beginning to feel not only that democracy is the right system for India, but that it is becoming well-established and will succeed.

Obviously a critical period is ahead for India, which will have to face this time of crisis under rather unfavorable conditions after its "tall" leaders have passed from the scene. Among the unfavorable conditions which are already clearly discernible are the growing strength of linguistic and other internal divisive forces, the growing doubts of the country's ability to make sufficient progress in economic development, the growing disillusionment of influential groups in Indian Society, and the growing doubts about the relative merits of democracy versus authoritarianism in an underdeveloped country. The "key to the Indian crisis," in the opinion of A.M. Rosenthal of the *New York Times*, is to be found in the success or failure of "the attempt of the Government to match the awakening desires of an enormous population and to convince itself and the people that they should resist the

attractions of what seem to be the swifter methods of authoritarianism."[27]

The odds against the evolution of a free society in India are very great. It is handicapped by its own traditions, its historical experience, its limited resources, the poverty of its masses, population pressures, and an unfavourable international environment. But there is much in India's traditions and experience which has paved the way for democratic self government, and success of its experiment in independence to date and of its development programs are encouraging manifestations of both the will and the capacity to survive as a democratic state. Clearly the Indian experiment is still going on and the outcome is still uncertain.

The Indian revolution has been one of the great revolutions of modern times, and it is still in process. At the opening of the Nangal-Hydel canal, in July, 1954, Prime Minister Nehru said:

"We are the children of the revolution of India. Do not imagine that the revolution in India was not a revolution because it was a peaceful one, it was one of the biggest revolutions in the World.

That revolution is not over, and we have still to continue it. We have finished it in a way in the political sphere. We have to continue it in the social and economic sphere because we cannot remain static.

Footnotes

1. W H Morris Jones, *Parliament in India* (Philadelphia, 1957), p 2.
2. Ibid., p 37
3. Amaury de Riencourt, *The Soul of India* (New York, [illegible]) p. 15
4. Norman D Palmer, "Indian and Western Political Thought: Coalescence or Clash?", *The American Political Science Review*, XLIX (September, 1955), 755
5. Ibid., p 753

6 Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India ; Report of a Survey* (Delhi, 1953), p. 3.

7 M.K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography, or the Story of My Experiments with Truth* (2nd edition, Ahmedabad, 1940), p. 615.

8 Frank Moraes, *India Today* (New York, 1960), p. 75

9. Ibid., pp. 220-221.

10 Beatrice Pitney Lamb, *Introduction to India* (Washington, D.C, 1960), pp. 11-12. In March and April, 1959, the Indian Institute of Public Opinion conducted an All India Survey of the Gandhian legacy, and it summarized the rather surprising findings of this survey as follows :—

"The extent of awareness of Gandhiji is surprisingly high, being over 90 percent in urban areas and as much as 80 per cent in rural areas. On the other hand, the extent of this awareness does not imply that there is a clear image in the public mind of the Mahatma's many-sided personality, or that the image has today a concrete application to practical affairs. To the great majority of respondents, he has even ceased to play the role of Mahatma, though in the minds of a small minority—in which women significantly have a notably place—he is venerated as an incarnation of God. He is best known as an outstanding leader of the nationalist movement and as a social reforme . In neither of these is the unique character of his contribution fully realised......Contrary to the indication of large awareness, the range of application of Gandhian doctrines in practice is disappointingly small. Even on an issue like foreign policy, the support enjoyed by the Prime Minister's policy is not connected with Gandhian principles......The survey is limited in scope, but it gives enough of general picture of a wide though receding, Gandhian impact, without any corresponding hard core generating, continuing impulses urder which Gandhian dactrines can renew themselves in every generation."

For a detailed summary of the results of the survey see "An Analysis of the Gandhian Impact on the Indian People," *Monthaly Public Opinion Surveps* of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3 (November, 1959),

11. Lady Hartog, *India New Patterns* (London 1955), p. 34. For an interesting account of Bhave and the Bhoodan Yagna movement see Hallam Tennyson, *India's Walking Saint : The Story of Vinoba Bhave* (New York. 1955).

12. Quoted in *Time*, Dec., 1959, p. 22.

13. Gene D. Overstreet and Irene Tinker, "Political Dynamics in India (a paper prepared for the Modern India Project, University of California, March, 1957), pp. 10-11.

14. The most extensive continuing surveys of public opinion in India are to be found in the *Monthly Public Opinion Surveys* of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion

15. Overstreet and Thinker, "Political Dynamics in India", p 11

16. See Seling S Harrison, *India The Most Dangerous Decades* (Princeton, N J, 1960), pp 77-95

17. For rather different views on the importance of the idea of consensus in Indian political and social life, see Susanne Hoeber Rudolph "Consensus and Conflict in Indian Politics," *World Politics*, XIII (April, 1961), 385 39), and W H Morris-Jones, "The Unhappy Utopia—JP in Wonder-land," *The Economic Weekly*, June 25, 1960.

18 W H. Morris-Jones, "The Exploration of Indian Political Life," Pacific Affairs, XXXII (December, 1959), 419.

19. K M Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen* (Bombay,1956), p 19.

20. Quoted in Ibid.

21. Arnold Toynbee, *The World and the West* (New York and London) (1953), Chapter III ("India and the West").

22. Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen* p. 18

23. Communalism "is the term given in India and Pakistan to the sense of insecurity which any community feels and the accompanying action it takes to protect itself and further its own interests. It is applied in different localities to groups differentiated by religion, language, region, historical origin, occupation... ..It is above all applied to the ill-feeling existing in Hindu-Muslim relationships." W. Norman Brown, *The United States and India and Pakistan* Harvard University Press, 1953), pp 112-113

24 "Caste and Politics." *The Radical Humanist*. XXI (April 28, 1957, 211

25 De Riencourt, *The Soul of India*, p. 357

26 Paul H. Appleby, Convocation Address, Nagpur University, December, 1952

27 A.M Rosenthal, "India's Great Adventure, Ten Years Later" *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 11, 1957.

29

THE POLITICS OF CASTE

Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne H. Rudolph in their *The Modernity of Tradition : Political Development in India* challenge the assumption that tradition and modernity are radically contradictory. It is their claim that an exploration of the affinities of modernity and tradition in India shows that in this country traditional structures and norms have been adapted or transformed to serve the needs of a modernizing society. After an analysis of social stratification, charismatic leadership of Gandhi, and law in modern India, they argue that the persistence of traditional features within modernity answer a basic need of the human condition. When many other scholars have tended to apply Western categories to political developments in new nations, the Rudolphs question whether conditions such as advanced industrialization, urbanization, or literacy are necessary pre-requisites for political modernization, and opt for relating patterns of modernization to the potentialities of particular traditions societies.

In the selection included here, the Roudolphs examine the caste system in India and show how its structural, cultural, and functional transformation has helped India's peasant society to make a success of representative democracy by enabling notables and parties to mobilize a popular electorate.

"THE POLITICS OF CASTE"*

Rudolph and Rudolph

Nationalist elites in new states tend to be deeply suspicious of tribal, linguistic, religious, regional, and caste loyalties and structures More often than not they perceive them as a threat to the incipient nations and fragile states that they govern Such concerns have frequently led to attempts to dispense with rather than integrate them Their view is often shared by statesmen and scholars in old states, who believe that powerful ascriptive structures are a threat to liberal democratic or socielist societies and states—that the individual must precede associations, in time and in importance, if the contractual civil society or the ideological collective is to have practical and moral validity

Such a critique is based on a misapprehension of the nature of modern society and politics In India, the blurring of lines between natural and voluntary structures has placed her associational life on a footing not too different from that of modern nations Natural associations based on religion, language, ethnicity, and locality have not been assimilated or dissolved in modern nations, in fact they continue to play important, sometimes decisive, roles in their societies and politics[1] Indeed, the crosscutting forces that arise in modern pluralist societies have not prevented their formally voluntary structures from taking on ascriptive features, bureaucratic organizations can and often do assume familial qualities in ways that approximate experiences of

*From Loyd Rudolph and Susanne Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition* (Orient Longman, New Delhi 1967) pp 64-67

those living within transformed primary groups.[2] Heuristic efforts to distinguish traditional from modern society must guard against the danger of taking formal structural and normative features as exhaustive and, as a consequence, ignoring a more indeterminate reality in which one blends into the other and varies with the play of contextual forces and events in time.

Even if the persistence of ascriptive and new-ascriptive structures and norms were not so prominent a feature of modern societies, a concern to contain the disruptive effects of modernization by helping such structures play productive rather than counter-productive roles in the process should direct sympathetic attention to their study and use. Those naticnal leaders who have not felt this concern and who have tried to dispense with natural associations by directing their attention, programs, and ideological appeals solely to embryonic modern classes and incipient nations have tended to produce unstable and ineffective autocratic regimes. A strategy more likely to achieve modernization with stability, effectiveness, and liberty is one that provides those who represent natural associations with conditions and incentives that enable them to foster the interests of their groups in ways and contexts that also lead toward modernity.[3]

At the same time, the intractability of powerful and independent natural associations, rooted in the soil and the heart, cannot be underestimated. They led to the partition of the Indian subcontinent and to charges of genocide in Ruanda,[4] and they feel the political instability and civil wars of African, Near Eastern, Asian and some modern Western states.[5] When natural associations are too few, when they are socially and morally independent of each other, and when they lack a limited but critically important identification with leaders, values, and institutions capable of sustaining national politics and a modern state, they destroy the viability of a civil society that transcends them.

Overcoming the tendency of ascriptive associations to formulate separate political identities and establish separate political structures requires powerful integrative forces. Strong

leadership, nationalist ideology, and viable state structures may not be enough Extended and socially penetrating experience of modern political culture and institutions along with broadly recognized economic interdependence can be critical So too, can the capacity to maintain a balance between the claims of the nation state and those of ascriptive solidarities Nkrumah's Ghana represented a pathology of national integration, the pursuit of unity without regard for ascriptive local pluralism, where as Balewa s Nigeria represented the pathology of diversity, a nation state with too limited a sense of citizenship

Castes do not pose the same kind of potential threat to the nation state that tribes religious communities, and linguistic groups do In India, the latter have made successful claims to separate political identities for Muslims this meant partition and the creation of the sovereign state of Pakistan, and for others, recognition within the framework of the federal system[8] Castes have not demanded separate political identities As parts of a larger society, they are symbolically related to each other, and as participants in Hindu culture, this relationship is integrated and legitimized When castes come to mobilize themselves politically, they are concerned with the distribution of values, status, and resources within a political system, not with the realization of nationhood although such a demand is not beyond the bounds of possibility, however unlikely it may be A caste like the Jats of Rajasthan, Punjab, and Uttar Pradesh, which spreads across present state boundaries, has a contiguous territorial base, and possesses a viable political history (for the Jats, conquests as recently as the eighteenth century), might develop 'national'"[7]

India's political parties, particularly the governing Congress party, have played an indispensable part in brokering and integrating diverse social forces On the whole, they have been able to subsume castes to their larger ideological and programmatic purposes, but they have been notably less successful with other natural associations In the former bilingual state of Bombay, for example, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Maha Gujarat parishad, associations of Marathi and

and Gujarathi linguistic nationalism respectively, subsumed national and other regional parties in their drives for separate political identities.[8] The politics of partition, states reorganization, and the realization of Punjabi Suba in 1966 make abundantly clear that the quest for linguistic-cultural and religious-political autonomy cannot easily be accommodated or contained by parties. The programme and patronage demands of castes, on the other hand-because the political role of castes is more akin to that of interest and ethinic groups[9] in American politics than to that of other natural associations in India—are more amenable to party management through legislation, policy implementation, and ticket balancing. As a general rule, then caste is more likely to be subsumed and integrated by leadership and policies of parties than it is to threaten established political communities and structures,[10]

Because castes are ordinarily bound by language, they have affected Indian political life more at the state and local levels than at the national level. (In the south, where efforts have been made to draw linguistic and state boundaries, congruently, castes do not usually reach beyond the state. In the north, along with Hindi, castes can be found in more than one and sometimes in all four Hindi-speaking states.[11] Despite the possibilites that the northern situation creates, castes there, with the exception of attempts to lobby the census commissioner for more dignifies names or classifications, have not as yet mobilized politically across state boundaries.

The relationship of caste to social and political change and to the conduct of government and politics varies more than the examples of the Nadars and Vanniyars suggest. Some of the factors that affect its role include (1) the number and size of other caste actors; (2) regional differences and their effect on the caste profile of particular states; (3) differences in the level and characteristics of relevant political system; (4) the relative significance of dominant and subject castes and the related propensities toward vertical and horizontal mobilization; (5) changes over time in the social and political environment in which particular castes operate; (6) the degree of self-consciousness and

cohesion that characterize particular castes, and (7) the countervailing power of other castes, interest groups, and integrative forces, particularly political parties

The number and size of caste actors within a state political system shape the nature of its politics. The situation in most states recalls one of Madison's conditions for republican liberty that there be too many "interests" to establish a "tyranny" based on a permanent majority. For example, in Rajasthan, Jats are the largest caste with 9 percent of the population, and in Madras Vanniyars are most numerous with almost 10 per cent Even at the district level, where caste percentages climb as high as 20 or 30, it is uncommon to find a permanent majority. Ordinarily, castes must find common ground with each other in order to share in government, and it is rare for those who do to remain united for a sufficiently long period and on a sufficiently broad range of men and measures to establish a tyranny over the rest And of course, castes are not the only political actors in state political systems nor are they immune from the impact of cross-cutting and integrative political forces.

Caste pluralism is not, however, characteristic of all states. In Mysore, for example, Laingayats constitute approximately 20 and Okkaligas apporximately 15 per cent of the population Rivalry between these two castes has been the source of destabilizing factionalism within the Congress party government, biased administration and a finding by the Supreme Court that the state's system for reserving seats in educational institutions for backward classes was a "fraud on the constitution."[12] In Kerala, religious or caste communities or coalitions of them have tended to shape party strategy and political behaviour. Iraves (or Ezhavas) and scheduled castes, 34 per cent of the population; Christians, 24 per cent, Nairs and Namboodiri Brahmans, 19 per cent, and Muslims, 20 per cent[13] The inability of Kerala to govern itself has been, in considerable measure, attributable to these rather special social conditions. Political parties—in their appeals, electoral support, and to a somewhat lesser extent, candidate selection-tended in the 1950's to be dependent on the major ascriptive communities: the Communist Party of India

(CPI) on the Iravas and scheduled castes, the Congress on Christians and Nairs, the Socialists on Nairs, and the Muslim League on Muslims.[14]

The period between 1957 and 1959, when the Communists gained and lost power, may have marked a watershed for this pattern of Kerala politics. The very success of the CPI in gaining power under the banner of class ideology and in governing, for the most part, in the interests of the poor and dispossessed crystallized class tendencies within the various communities and helped free their members for mobilization by party rather than community appeals.

The 1959 "liberation" struggle against the Communist government and the 1960 mid-term election that followed obscured for a time the dimensions of the shift in Kerala politics from community to class.[15] The liberation struggle led by Christian bishops and Mannath Padmanabhan, for almost two generations the political strategist of the Nair Service Society,[16] and Congress' success in returning to power at the head of a coalition of the community and party forces that came together in the liberation struggle, seemed to reverse the trends made visible by the period of Communist rule. In 1962, however, the Congress, under the guidance of the party's High Command, began an effort to free itself from dependence on the leaders of the Nair, Christian, and Muslim communities by giving greater scope to Irava leadership and support and by attempting to emphasize class moboilization from below rather than community mobilization from above.[17] The coalition chief minister, Nair and Socialist P.T. Pillai, was replaced by R. Shankar, a leader of the progressive faction in the Congress and a former official of the Irava caste association, and the Muslim speaker of the assembly was replaced by a Congressman. One of the consequences of the new strategy became apparent thirty months later when Nair and Christian members of the Congress crossed the aisle, brought down the Shankar government, and formed the rebel Kerala Congress party to contest the ensuing 1965 mid-term election.[18] That election proved to be an inconclusive test of the strategy of class mobilization under Irava leadership.[19] No party or coalition of parties was able to form a government, and

the state remained under president's rule until the general election of 1967

In anticipation of that election E M S Namboodiripad, the astute leader of the CPI-Marxist party in Kerala, forged a seven party coalition that swept to a decisive victory, reducing Congress to a mere 9 seats in an assembly of 133 [20] This debacle *was associated with Congress' return to a strategy of community* mobilization from above [21] The leaders of the Nair and Christian communities, having failed to persuade the Kerala Congress to merge with the official Congress, deserted the Kerala Congress to assume a decisive role in the direction of the Congress campaign The political fickleness of the Nair and Christian leaders not only proved the undoing of both the Congress and the Kerala Congress but also seems to have accelerated the decline of political cohesiveness among Nairs and Christians Even though the political base of the CPI-Marxist party remains in the poorer section of Irava community, it demonstrated in the 1967 election that it had enhanced its capacity to mobilize from below a wide spectrum of classes through electoral alliances and direct appeals to ideology and interest [22] Whether Kerala has left behind the political instability and incapacity to govern itself that arise from the existence of too few, too large, and too impenetrable communities is to be seen

Beyond the structural and cultural differences that characterize state caste constellations lie more general regional differences. Caste profiles change as one moves from the Gangetic heartland, where Aryan peoples and Sanskritic culture made their *most deep penetration, toward the south and the* [illegible] Most striking is the relative absence of twice born castes [illegible] than Brahmans, in the southern states and the smaller percentage of Brahmans there [23] The movement of Aryan [illegible] and [illegible] Sanskrit culture toward the south does not [illegible] within *its fold regionally* and locally [illegible] castes in the south performed Kshatriya [illegible] and occupied equivalent social (but [illegible]) [illegible] of their northern counterparts but [illegible] Brahman's in the south have [illegible] the rest of the population than [illegible]

south they are the only representatives of twice-born religion and ritual status, whereas in the the north they blend into the large twiceborn population of other significant and powerful castes. The range of social distance between the top and the bottom of the caste structure is greater in the south than it is in the north, where pollution is conveyed by touch, not proximity, as in the South.[25]

Regional caste profiles effect the nature of political cleavage and mobilization. The wide ritual gulf, for example, between the tiny Madras Brahman elite (less than 3 per cent) and other castes contributed to and was compounded by their domination of modern political, administrative, and professional life. Their initial control of the nationalist movement in Madras led those castes who by education, income and political sophistication felt themselves the equal of Brahmans and yet found themselves excluded from leading positions in political and professional life to oppose traditional and modern Brahman domination by forming the anti-Brahman, anti-nationalist Justice party.[26] The elimination of Brahmans from positions of political leadership that Justice governments represented did not still the anti-Brahmanical impulse in Madras politics; after independence the Dravida Kazhagam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam deepened and broadened their political appeal by linking it to themes of northern domination and Hindi hegemony.[27] In Maharashtra, too the relative absence of non-Brahman twice-born castes has helped to make Brahmans the target of movements directed against their social and political dominance. Many Marathas, like Vellalas and Mudaliars in Madras, first entered politics in response to anti-Brahman slogans.[28] Their mobilization has been followed in turn, as was the case in Madras, by that of castes like the untouchable Mahars still lower in the ritual hierachy.[29]

Opposite tendencies have characterized Uttar Pradesh. There a relatively large proportion is of the population made of twice-born castes.[30] Their ritual and social proximity creates greater continuity in the scale of ritual rank. Along with Brahmans, other twice born castes had access to modern professional and political structures. Instead of tension between them and a Brahman

ritual and modern elite there has been a general social status and political power Nor has Uttar Pradesh witnessed that massive mobilization of lower level Sudra or advanced untouchable castes that statusdeprived upper—level Sudra castes inaugurated in Madras and Maharashtra against the established social structure and the legitimacy of its norms.

In general, regional variations in caste profiles seem to be associated with differences in the kind and rate of political mobilization and with the nature of the political conflict they produce Anti Brahmanism seems to have flourished in regions characterized by steep and discontinuous traditional social hierachies, and it in turn seems to have fostered the political mobilization of castes still lower in the ritual hierarchy [31] At the other extreme regions with relatively higher proportions of twice born castes and more gradual and continuous social landscapes seem to be less susceptible to horizontal mobilizations from below of ritually deprived castes seeking opportunities, status and political power The tendency for castes to spread across state boundaries in the north and to be bounded by them in the south also affects political mobilization Ahirs and Kurmis, peasant castes, are distributed along the massive Gangetic valley and beyond, numerous in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh, they can also be found in Orissa and the Punjab [32] Among such widely scattered caste populations, the sheer magnitude of the distances and the difficulties of communication and organization involved (there are eighty million people in Uttar Pradesh alone) inhibit the creation of a sense of community and common interest [33]

It is likely that these differences in regional catse profiles will yield to more homogenous patterns partly in consequence of politics In Madras and Maharashtra, anti Brahmanism has declined as other castes have won access to power and resources That Madras' previously anti Brahman Dravida munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Federation (DMK) has become sufficiently self-confident and politically pragmatic to solicit Brahman support, and that Brahmans have been willing to reciprocate these advances suggests the gradual transformation of extreme superordinate—subordinate relation among communities into more equal ones.

The politics of caste varies with context and level. Disprate though interacting political systems of village, block, district, state legislative assembly and national parliamentary constituencies, and state affect the form and force of caste factors in politics. Who a man is, the manners he uses, the kinds of help or co-operation he can command, depend upon whether he is in the world of the village, the world of the state capital, or the worlds that lie between them. He may act more or less in terms of his own and others' caste or be guided in his behaviour by the norms of shared citizenship, depending upon the system of action in which he finds himself.[34] Politicians on tour employ democratic manners; at home in arranging marriages or in social intercourse with neighbours, they are likely to observe caste differences.

It is easier in the face-to-face political community of the village and the immediate locality than in more distant and impersonal settings for dominant castes to use traditional patterns of respect and obedience for political purposes. Village Chamars in Uttar Pradesh confront ritual and economic disabilities that leave them subject to the command of local notables, whereas urban Chamars in Agra play a leading role in the city's political life.[35] More recently, particularly with the introduction of the secret ballot in village elections, the capacity of dominant castes to mobilize subject castes has declined. As traditional loyalties and discipline dissolve on lower caste independence and cohesion, especialy among those castes aspiring to village wide influence or power, tend to increase.[36] At the same time that intracaste cohesion may be on the rise in the village, it may be on the the decline in higher level political systems. Vanniyars in a Madras village, for example, acted in a corporate manner toward rival castes after the discipline of Vanniyar caste associations in district and state contexts had been penetrated by the mobilizing efforts of political parties.[37] Depending on the political system, castes exhibit different levels of politicization, independence, and cohesion.

In the more impersonal settings of higher level systems, the mobilization of large numbers begins to defy the capabilities of

vertical integration Local notables who can still mobilize their interest for political purposes by commanding the support of dependents, kin and neighbours may or may not have the political skills required to create appropriate and effective factional combinations to meet the exigencies of various political systems At higher levels of politics, politicians must have recourse to the representation of independent interests and to ideological and programmatic appeals through more manifest and specialised political structures, particularly the political party At these levels, independent political calculations begin to split combine, or fuse castes of all ranks Upper castes may need the numerical strength that lower castes' support can supply, lower castes or communities may want access to resources and opportunities that support for upper caste leadership can yield, and previously dispossessed castes and communities may want to secure independent access to political power through parties that challenge established norms and structures As the conduct of politics moves from the village to the state capital, political perceptions, motives, and organizations become more differentiated, independent, and powerful [38]

The relative significance of dominant and subject castes in the politics of particular states affects their patterns of political mobilization [39] Both vertical mobilization by dominant castes and horizontal mobilization by subject castes alter traditional power relationships, the first when the formality of consent through voting replaces obediences based on traditional authority and dependence, the second by enabling subject castes to be politically independent of their former masters [40] In Andhra Politics, for example, vertical mobilization by Reddis is a central feature [41] A traditionally dominant landlord caste, they are also the state's largest caste, with 12 per cent of the population In 1965, 28 per cent of the seats in the Andhra legislature and 40 per cent of the seats in the Congress cabinet were held by Reddis They also held the presidencies of the Congress, Communist and Indepnedent parties. In the 1967 election they accounted for 25 per cent of all legislative assembly candidates. Reddi dominance of state politics is the result of local and regional dominance based on vertical mobilization by Reddi

notables, not horizontal solidarity, mobilization, of formal organization.[42] The more enterprising and able among them have concerted with others to form factional alliances capable of capturing power at the district and state levels. At the same time, the state's politics have been characterized by considerable fluidity as factional alliances have split and factions decomposed.

In Uttar Pradesh, too, the relative significance of dominant castes has produced a politics of vertical mobilization, faction and personalism, although in this state it has created higher levels of instability than it has in Andhra.[43] Local notables, still relatively free from the challengers that horizontal mobilization of caste, community, or class can mount, concert to form factions and factional alliances designed to control political systems ranging from Legislative Assembly constituencies to Pradesh Congress committees and state governments. Ahirs, Chamars, and possibly Kurmis (if they were able to mobilize horizontally) have a numericial potential to modify or upset this political pattern.[44] The Chamars in alliance with the Muslims, with the help of rebel Congressmen, have shown some sign of doing so; under the aegis of the Republican party, they succeeded in 1962 in electing B.P. Maurya to Parliament from an Aligarh constitueny.[45] Outside U.P. but still in the Hindi heartland, developments in Haryana in 1967 after the general election suggested the potential influence of these castes when a Jat-Ahir-scheduled caste alliance resigned from Congress to form a new government under the leadership of Chief Minster Rao Birender Singh.[46] Similarly in Bihar, the influence of the powerful Ahir Congressman Lakhan Singh Yadav was critical in deciding the leadership of the Congress opposition after that election.[47]

Madras politics, on the other hand, has been characteristically that of horizontal mobilization by subject castes. The state's traditionally dominant Brahman caste was early and successfully challenged by Sudra castes, prosperous, educated, and ambitious Vellalas. Mudaliars, Naidus, and Chettiars, who formed the Justice party in 1916.[48] Brahmans were too few (less than 3 per cent of the population), too isolated ritually and socially, and too fastidious to withstand this and subsequent attacks by

Dravidian ideological movements on their religious, cultural, and political dominance. Recently, Andre Beteille found that even at the village level, Brahmans were less effective than dominant non Brahman castes at building and holding through vertical mobilization the political support of lower castes.[49]

Individual castes and state political systems are not necessarily characterized by only one pattern of mobilization, nor is vertical mobilization to subject ones Carolyn Elliott points out that in Andhra Reddi landed notables are prone to mobilize their interests vertically, (and other) middle peasant castes are more likely to try to mobilize their caste fellows through horizontal appeals and structures[50] In Rajasthan, Rajputs, who had rueld the state as princes and jagirdars before independence, developed, in the early 1950 s considerable horizontal solidarity and organizational capability in the face of proposed land reforms and the desire to return to power under democratic auspices The Jats, a large, prosperous peasant caste of Rajasthan, organised horifontally to challenge and counter Rajput dominance even while mobilizing their dependents through vertical means in localities where they were dominant.

At the level of state political systems, the effectiveness of castes as political actors depends upon a variety of internal and external conditions Internally, critical variables include the number and geographic distribution of caste members available for politicization and mobilization, levels of political consciousness, literacy and cohesiveness at particular historical periods, the effectiveness of available leadership, and relative ritual rank, social status and economic independence Externally, they include the number and power of countervailing interest-group forces, the effectiveness and reach of party organization and leadership, the effectiveness with which local notables of dominant castes are able to mobilize their interests and to concert with others at the state level, the degree to which the size of a state regional differences within it facilitate or inhibit communication, organization, and the growth of common consciousness and purpose

Thus, in Rajasthan, formerly part of princely India, the early and persistent political influence of the Jats, the state's largest caste, with 9 per cent of the population, may be explained by the particular constellation of these factors.[51] After the 1962 general election, 13 per cent of the seats in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly were held by Jats, the politically influential Speaker of the Assembly was a Jat, and two of the cabinet's most powerful members were drawn from Jat ranks. Jats are not only numerous but also relatively highly politicized. They were the first caste in the state to organize caste associations for purposes of self-help, mobility, and interest representation and have not as yet lost the advantage they gained as "first-comers" over those now benefitting from their example and techniques. Rajasthan remains a relatively backward state socially and economically, despite its rapid rate of economic development. As a result, Jat interests do not yet confront the powerful countervailing interest group forces that are likely to arise in the not too distant future. Because some sections of the caste were prosperous peasants, Jat notables, particularly after land reform had reduced local Rajput influence, have been able to reap the political advantages of vertical mobilization. That numbers alone do not suffice in winning political influence and power is evidenced by contrasting the Jats' situation with that of Rajasthan's Chamars. Almost as numerous as the Jats' their poverty, subjection, low levels of political consciousness and organization, and paucity of effective leaders have inhibited the realization of political power in their numbers.

Although the Jats are the most numerous and best mobilized caste in Rajasthan politics, internal cleavages, countervailing interest-group forces, and the capacity of party politics to assimilate and constrain assertions of caste political identity and power have prevented them from gaining that measure of political ascendency over public life that the Rajputs held under princely rule. Region and personality coincide to divide the politically advanced sections of the caste into competing factions. So too, do generational differences; when these have coincided with class differences, internal cleavages have not been easily susceptible to repair by appeals to community interest or sentiment. The

most formidable of the countervailing forces opposing the growth of Jat power is the Rajput interest At its head stand former maharajas and jagirdars to whose command of regional and ideological capabilities of modern politics and the glamor that royalty and nobility can evoke in the mundane world of competitive democratic politics Rajputs, however, are also divided by class, region and personality It is these divisions that have provided grist for the mill of party appeals[5] Before the 1967 general election the most severe challenge to governmental stability in Rajasthan whose Congress chief minister has held office the longest of any in India came from a political faction within the governing party led by a Jat and a Rajput former maharaja These developments reflect not only the growing differentiation of caste communities on class and interest lines and the ways such differences can unite members of various castes but also the growing independence of politics Political commitments and loyalties, political rewards and sanctions, are not merely the building blocks of faction they are also the means through which parties can fraction, combine, and assimilate caste identities and lead them toward the more general goals of a political community[53]

Notes

1 For America, see Will Herberg *Protestant, Catholic, Jew An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, N Y, 1960), Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, mass, 1965) and Milton M Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York, 1964)

2 For a recent critical view of social, pluralism as it has hardened and subordinated itself to bureaucratic leadership see Henry Kariel, *The Decline of American Pluralism*

(Stanford, 1961). Kariel is so concerned that he "would have us move...from the much celebrated ideal of Tocqueville toward the still unfashionable one of Rousseau."

Milton Cordon in *Assimilation in American Life* mounts an impressive case for the rigid compartmentalization of American communal life at the rank and file level. Seymour M. Lipset, Martin Trow, and James Coleman, in *Union Democracy: The Inside Politics of the International Typographical Union* (Glencoe, 1956), examine the rigidties and bureaucratic domination of unions and profesrional associations by analysing the exception. Everett C. Hughes, in *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, 1958), suggests how occupational associations in America, like castes in India, upgrade themselves by changing their names and histories and purify themselves and their rituals by emulating "higher" occupational groups in the matter of educational requirements, licensing standards, and ceremonial niceties. John R. Murphy's "Professional and Occupational Licensing : A National Problem with State Control" (a term paper in Government 155a : Government Regulation of Industry, at Harvard University, 1950-60), along with Hughes's analyses, suggested these comparisons with caste mobility in India.

Kariel and Lipset, Trow, and Coleman emphasize the inability of members of formally voluntary associations, like peasants in Marx's analysis, to represent and rule themselves; therefore, they fall victim to the executive power (the bureaucracy). William H. Whyte, Jr., in *The Organization Man* (New York, 1956), although not ignoring structural factors, emphasizes the ways in which formally voluntary organizations absorb and tend to monopolize the affective life and identities of their members and their families. For a similar perspective, see Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations* (New York, 1961).

3 For a somewhat similar perspective on Africa's ethnic groups, see Aristide Zolberg, "Mass Parties and National Integration The Case of the Ivory Coast," *Journal of Politics, XXV* (February, 1963), 36-48

4 See Jacques J Maquet, *The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda* (London, 1961) For the genocide charge, see Keesing s contemporary Archives, XIV (1963 64), 20085 86

5 For Wallon Flemish differences in Belgium, see Ernest Madel, "The Dialectic of Class and Region in Belgium,' *New Left Review*, No 20 (Summer, 1963), 2 31, *Keesing's Contemporary Archives, XIII* (1961 62), 17968, 18391, 18623, and 18941, and XIV (1963 64), 19601 For the differences in Canada between the French Catholics and the English Protestants, see the *Preliminary Report* of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Ottawa, 1955) The Commission warned that Canada was undergoing "the greatest crisis in its history" (p 13) See also Edmund Wilson, O *Canada* (New York 1965).

6. Many religious groups (the Christians and, after independence the Muslims) and many tribal groups (the Bhils, for example) have not in fact posed such problems of integration But others have, at various levels, before independence Muslims sought their political identity in the nation-state of Pakistan, the various Indian linguistic groups succeeded, through the formation of Andhra (1954), the States Reorganization Act of 1956, and the bifurcation of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat (1960), in establishing separate political identities and some measure of autonomy within the federal system, the Naga tribes won recognition as a separate state through rebellion (Marcus Franda, "The Naga National Council A Study of Group Politics" (M A thesis, *University of Chicago*, 1960), and the Sikhs found a measure of political identity first in the compromise achieved in the Punjab legislature whereby two intrastate regional committees with broad recommendatory powers were established for Sikh and

Hindu legislators respectively (see Joan U. Bondurant, *Regionalism versus Provincialism* (Berkely, Calif., 1958), pp. 114-24) and then in Punjabi Suba, granted in 1966. See Kushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs, Volume 2. 1839-1964* (Princeton, N.J., 1966).

7. For a visual statement of the 20-30 per cent concentration of Jats in a determinable geographic area, see the excellent map, helpful in many other ways to social scientists, by Joseph Schwartzberg, in "The Distribution of Selected Castes in the North Indian Plain, "*Geographical Review*, LV (Winter, 1965) 477-95.

8. See Marshall Windmiller, "The Politics of States Reorganization in India : The case of Bombay," *Far Eastern Survey*, *XXV* (September, 1956), 129 43; and Philips Talbot, "The Second General Elections : Voting in the States" (India, PT-6-1957; American Universities Field Staff, New York, 1957); Selig Harrison, *in India, the Most Dangerous Decade* (Princeton, N. J., 1956), provides a provocative and pessimistic account of the role of language in national politics.

9. For a discussion of interest groups and their political role in India, see Myron Weiner, *The Politics of Scarcity* (Chicago, 1962). For a study of a particular interest group, see Leon V. Hirsch, *Marketing in an Underdeveloped Economy : The North Indian Sugar Industry* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1961).

10. The role of caste and language in Indian politics is engaging the interest of Indian political scientists as they turn their attention from constitutional, national, and international politics to the state level. In December, 1965, the University of Rajasthan at Jaipur sponsored a seminar on state politics. A report on the conference by K.P. Karunakaran, a leading Indian political scientist, cautions those who wish to apply "American" theory and methods to Indian problems. "......One of the questions," he

writes, "which often came up was to what extent the foreign models and tools of research could be applied to India There was general appreciation of the fact that the impact of American education and American political scientists on India was at first healthy because it allowed Indian political science to disentangle itself from the narrow path of constitutionalism laid down by the British But it was also feared that there was an almost mechanical attempt on the part of many Indian political scientists to try and fit in Indian politics with an American model, this approach did considerable harm by misleading the public Americans, as a rule, failed to grasp the main forces at work in the Indian political field. They rarely understood the meaning of the word 'caste' To them the movement for linguistic provinces was an attempt at fragmentation of the country But there were others who challenged these concepts and maintained that very often what was refered to as 'fragmentation' by Americans was a step towards strengthening the political unity of the country, because by fulfilling the aspirations of the people democratising the politics of a region, that region could be made a willing and enthusiastic partner in the new India that was shaping' (Politics at State Level, Now, February, 4, 1966, p 13)

11 Schwarzberg, "The Distribution of Selected Castes in the North Indian Plain." His maps show that among the non twice born castes, Kurkis, Chamars, and Ahirs are localed throughout the North Indian plain, jats also are distributed across several states. Belgaum District, Mysore, is a notable exception to the typical south Indian pattern See Myron Weiner, *Party Building in a New Nation* (Chicago, 1967)

12 Balaji V. State of Mysore, All India Reporter, 1963 Mysore 649.

13. Kathleen Gough, "Village Politics in Kerala-I. "*Economic Weekly*, February 20, 1965, p. 365.

14. Michael St. Johan, "The Communist Party and Comumnal Politics in Kerala" (Senior honors thesis, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1962), particularly pp. 72-81. In describing the Communist-Irava relationship, St. John observes that "the dominant theme of the Ezhavas (Iravas) activity throughout the year has been reform...Today the reform which the Ezhavas want is economic, and they have become convinced during the last decade (1952-62) that it is only through the K.C.P. (Kerala Communist Party) that they will secure it. The Ezhavas are a politically conscious group, aware of the issues, and not easily swayed by slogans. For this reason they have been willing to support the K.C.P. in spite of the Congress orientation of their caste associations leaders... Thus between the Ezhavast and the Communists, here has been no fundamental meeting of minds, but rather a fortunate confluence of program and action...The Communists, for their part, do not really think of the Ezhavas as the 'proper' class for their support ..(pp 149-51). At the same time, St. John argues that the KCP is the "*only* autonomous political party, for the others, as brokers for communal interests, are little more than the sum of their parts. The Communists do appeal to different castes, as we have seen in the case of the Ezhavas, but their appeal is germane to their program, and their program is within the framework of an over-riding plan ..The members have a commitment to the theory and the party which is deeply engrained...They rise and fall with the relative success of the Party much as the other persons in Kerala rise and fall with the vacillations in fortune of their community" (pp. 158-59). One of the critical tests of the nature of the ralationship between Communist ideology and the need for community support was the party's effort to drop caste as a test for backwardness, substituting in its stead income. "Immediately a howl of protest went up from the Ezhavas, who are classified as backward......Fearing for their electoral support, the Communists for once gave in to communal sentiment .." (p. 174).

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the pre-eminent leader of the CPI

in Kerala and one of the party's handful of major national leaders, writes that caste associations were 'the first form in which the peasant masses rose in struggle against feudalism" Today, however, "it is easy enough to see that these caste organizations are not the class organizations of the peasantry, they do, on the contrary, consolidate the caste separatism of the people in general and of the peasantry in particular, so that the grip of these caste organisations on the peasantry has to be broken if they are to be organized as a class" (*The National Question in Kerala* (Bombay, 1952), pp 102, 106)

St John tested the relationship between party and community in electoral behaviour by correlating the votes of those supporting the United Front (made up of the Congress party, Praja Socialist party, and Muslim League) and the C P I in the 1960 election when voting voice was as polarized as it has ever been He hypothesized that there should be a positive relationship between the district vote of the two party groupings and the community proportions of the population of each district said to be in support of United Front and the CPI that is, Christians, Nairs and Muslims versus Iravas and scheduled castes. Excluding Kozhikode District because of its peculiar community distribution, St John performed a rank correlation for the remaining eight districts of the state, producing a 60 measure (the result with Kozhikode was ,38) This is the most precise evidence to date on the relationship between community and party in electoral behavior at the state level When the studies of the 1965 election in Kerala by Samuel J Eldersveld and Rajni Kothari become available, we may have more precise indications. See also n 21 below. A table prepared by Anthony J Fernadez (Appendix, Table I) indicates the leadership ties of parties to communities.

hristians, Nairs, and Muslims joined forces in 1960 hind a party coalition of the Congress, Socialist, and uslim League parties to defeat the CPI, they had become

convinced that the protection of their class interests (Christians and Nairs) or religious convictions and institutions (all three communities) overrode the differences they had previously translated into partisan political conflict (see K.P. Baghat, *The Kerala Mid Term Election of 1960* (Bombay, 1962).

16. See Bashiruddin Ahmed, "Communist and Congress Prospects in Kerala, "*Asian Survey.* VI (July, 1966), 393-95, for a synoptic view of the strategies and kaleidosscopic alliances not only of the Nair Service Society (NSS) but also of the Irava caste association (the Shri Narayana Dharma Paripalan Yogam, or SNDP), the Syrian Christian Church, and the Muslims.

17. The attempts of the Congress High Command, particularly under the influence of Kamaraj Nadar, to broaden the party's social base in an Irava direction are summed up in Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., "Caste and the Kerala Elections," *Economic Weekly*, April 17, 1965.

18. The disintegration of this coalition and the subsequent split of the Congress party can be traced to the conflict generated by class differences within communities and the larger and more general conflict between community and class appeals and organizations. Poor Muslims saw little reason to support a coalition government that, on the one hand, denied them in the name of secular democracy a place in its cabinet and, later, the speakership of the assembly and, on the other, stumbled and procrastinated in pressing for progressive economic and welfare measures to which it was pledged. Within the Congress, those who wished to implement programs to help the poor and the dispossessed, most of whom were Muslim, Irava, or scheduled caste, did battle with the representatives of the Christian and Nair establishments.

19. This was not the view of sources sympathetic to the CPI. They believed that the loose alliance it had formed captured over 52 per cent of the vote and enough seats to form a

government if only the CPI-Marxist M L A 's jailed by Union Home Minister Nanda were released On the other hand, Bashiruddin Ahmed, a careful scholar of Kerala politics, concludes his analysis of the Congress and Communist prospects after the 1965 election by remarking that "it seems possible that the Communist Party will no longer constitute a state-wide contender for power (It) may well become no more than a party of pressure in the politics of the state " ("Communist and Congress Prospects in Kerala," p 393)," The deep thrust and penetration of (Congress') organization, and its success in weaning away Nair and Christian support from the N S S and the Church along with the deep inroads it has made into pockets of Communist support among Ezhavas (Iravas) ensures Congress a dynamic focal position in Kerala politics" *Ibid.*, p 399) However, Ahmed's condition for this outcome, healing of the split between the Congress and the Kerala Congress, was not fulfilled

20 Congress and the Kerala Congress together won 14 seats and polled 43 per cent of the vote (Congress, 35, 4 per cent, Kerala Congress 7 6), the United Front parties won 113 seats (CPI-Marxist, 52, CPI, 19, SSP, 19, Muslim League, 14, RSP, 6, KTP, 2, and KSP, 1) and polled 51 4 per cent of the vote (CPI-Marxist, 23 5 per cent, CPI, 8 5, SSP, 8 4, Muslim League, 6 7, RSP, 2 7, KTP, 1 1, and KSP, 0 5). Government of India, Press Information Bureau, "Kerala Assembly Results, Analysis I" (New Delhi, February, 1967, mimeographed) See also M V. Pylee, "The Congress Debacle in Kerala," *Economic and Political Weekly, II* (March 4, 1967), 483 84.

21. Congress, which stood alone in 1967, fared much worse than did the CPI when it stood alone against a united opposition in 1960 in part because the Kerala Congress so split the Nair and Christian vote that Congress lost upto 50 seats to the United Front candidates in the six Travancore and Cochin districts where these communities are concentrated. *The Hindustan Times*' special correspondent wrote on March 4, 1967 that" a study of the voting figures

shows that if these parties had put up a joint battle against the United Front they could have improved their position, possibly to the extent of winning about 50 seats. "See also M.V. Pylee, "The Congress Debacle in Kerala" (p. 484), where he estimates the loss as high as 60 seats. The United Front won 67 and the Congress and Kerala Congress together 14 of the 85 seats in the six districts located in Travancore and Cochin. Government of India, Press Information Bureau, "Kerala Assembly: An Analysis-3; Seats Won District Wise" (New Delhi, February, 1967, mimeographed).

Another important reason for Congress' defeat was the fact that, having sacrified in the name of secularism what little influence remained to it among Muslims, it was unable to win any of the 48 seats located in the three Malabar districts where the Muslim vote is located. All the candidates put up by the Samastha Kerala Muslim League, formed by Muslims identified with Congress to counter Muslim League and United Front electoral influence in Malabar, lost their deposits.

22. Kathleen Gough discusses what she calls the Communist cross-caste strategy in two villages in "Village Politics in Kerala-II" *Economic Weekly*, February 27, 1965. pp. 415-16. A. Aiyappan, in *Social Revolution in a Kerala Village: A Study in Culture Change* (Bombay 1965), writes from a lifetime of study and a recent investigation of a Kerala village that "the horizontal consolidation of caste...is an ongoing process, but a parallel trend which splits each caste vertically and thus weakens it is also now in the process of development. Within the Irava caste, as also within other castes, there is class formation ..Class interests cut across caste. The Communists in Kerala are the last caste-minded among the political parties there . Fission on party lines of cleavage has already taken place in the S.N.D.P,Y. (the Irava caste association), and the Irava leaders are now making an effort to keep the Association above party politics. Wheiher and how far these efforts will succeed remains to be seen" (p. 169).

23 Less than 3 per cent in Madras, as against over 8 per cent in the plains of Uttar Pradesh

24 The Vellalas, Mudaliars Reddiars, Chettiars, Naidus and Kammas, prosperous Madras and Andra Castes often high in social rank, are all Sudras So are the Nairs of Kerala, who rank immediately after the Namboodiri Brahmans

25 For the harshness of Social distance in Kerala, see A Aiyappan, *Iravas and Culture Change* (Madras 1944), and Mckim Marriott, *Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan* (Deccan College Monograph Series, No 23, Poona, 1960), pp 26 31 For Brahman "distance in Madras, see Andre Beteille, *Caste, Class and Power Changing Pattsrns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village* (Berkeley, Calif, 1965)

26 See Eugene F Irschick, 'Politics and Social Change in South India" (Ph D dissertation, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1964)

27 See L I Rudolph, 'Urban Life and Populist Radicalism Dravidian Politics in Madras," Journal of Asian Studies, XX (May, 1961)

28 See M L P Patterson "Caste and Politics in Maharashtra,' *Economic Weekly*, VIII (July 21, 1956)

29 For the Mahars, see Eleanor Zelliot, 'The Mahar Political Movement , in Rajni Kothari (ed), 'Caste and Politics in India' (forthcoming)

30 In the plains part of U P, Brahmans formed 8.7 per cent of the total population, according to the 1931 census, Rajputs formed more than 5 per cent of the population in most U P, districts at that time (Schwartzberg, 'The Distribution of Selected Castes in the North Indian Plain," p 485 and map) Prominent also among the political leadership are Kayasthas Whether they should or should not be classified as twice born has been a matter of litigation as well as cociological and historical argument.

Whichever status they are said to occupy, it is not as distinct, in the north, from Brahmans as are Sudras in parts of the south.

31. Mysore and Andhra have not been immune to anti-Brahmanism, but it has been much less virulent and politically significant than that found in Madras and Maharashtra. Kerala has not experienced much anti-Brahmanism either, but this may be in part because of the links of blood and kinship that unite Nairs and Namboodiri Brahmans, and in part because of strong Brahman leadership of the Communist party. The Telugu Brahmans of Andhra may have escaped the experience of the Tamil Brahmans of Madras because of the history of the Telugu linguistic area. Andra became aware of a distinct regional identity that differentiated her from Tamilnad—with which she shared a single political identity in the Presidency of Madras—early in the twentieth century. Telugu Brahmans were able to joi with other Andra castes in protest against "Tamil domination," which turned out, incidentally, to be mostly Tamil Brahman domination, at a time when the Brahman-non-Brahman conflict was joined in Madras. But it is also true that Indian and English observes at the beginnig of this century in contrasting Madras and Andhra noted that Telugu "Brahmans were less concerned with pollution and more willing to attend ceremonies of other castes" (Carolyn Elliott, "Caste and Faction in Andhra Pradesh" (paper delivered at the Association for Asian Studies, New York, April 4-6, 1966), p. 9.

32. See p. 70, n. 11.

33. The relationship of caste profiles and caste distribution to political boundaries is, of course, only one among many variables influencing differences in political mobilization among regions. Differences in literacy, education, communication, and length and depth of experience with imperial rule would also count for much.

34. See Harold Gould, "The Adaptive Functions of Caste in

Contemporary Indian Society,' *Asian Survey, III* (September, 1963), for a discussion of a sample of fifty riksha drivers in Lucknow in their urban and rural contexts 'They really have two social structural models inside them simultaneously and utilized each in its appropriate place" (p 435)

35 Harold Gould found, for example, that in Faizabad constituency scheduled caste landless menials are still too economically dependent upon the Thakurs " to vote independently 'Many scheduled caste people were gathered together in little groups by their Thakur overlords and marched to the polls under Thakur supervision in order to ensure that they voted for the Jan Sangh They were able to impose their will in this way, by threatening these impoverished folk with such economic sanctions as the denial of opportunities for field labour, withdrawal of sharecropping privileges and the calling in of loans" ('Traditionalism and Modernism in U P ," in Myron Weiner and Rajni Kothari eds), *Indian Voting Behaviour* (Calcutta, 1965), p 175), In contrast, Owen W Lynch describes the ability of Jatavs (formerly Chamars) to elect the vice chairman of the Agra municipality through an alliance with the Jan Sangh (' The Politics of Untouchability A Case Study from Agra, India" (a paper presented at the Conference on Social Structure and Social Change, University of Chicago, June 3 6, 1965)

36 See Ralph Retzlaff, *Village Government* (Bombay, 1962), for an extended examination of changes in village leadership and electoral behaviour, including evidence of high cohesion among lower castes after the political control of dominant castes has been broken

37 Joan Menscher, comment in the course of discussion, Conference on Social Structure and Social Change, University of Chicago, June 3 6, 1965

38 In Modasa assembly constituency of Gujarat, Rajni Kothari and Ghanshyam Shah found that "politics is the

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34. See Harold Gould, "The Adaptive Functions of Caste in

Contemporary Indian Society," *Asian Survey, III* (September, 1963), for a discussion of a sample of fifty riksha drivers in Lucknow in their urban and rural contexts 'They really have two social structural models inside them simultaneously and utilized each in its appropirate place" (p 435)

Harold Gould found, for example, that in Faizabad constituency scheduled caste 'landless menials are still too economically dependent upon the Thakurs " to vote independently 'Many scheduled caste people were gathered together in little groups by their Thakur overlords and marched to the polls under Thakur supervision in order to ensure that they voted for the Jan Sangh They were able to impose their will in this way, by threatening these impoverished folk with such economic sanctions as the denial of opportunities for field labour, withdrawal of sharecropping pri vileges and the calling in of loans" ('Traditionalism and Modernism in U P," in Myron Weiner and Rajni Kothari eds), *Indian Voting Behaviour* (Calcutta, 1965), p 175), In contrast, Owen W Lynch describes the ability of Jatavs (formerly Chamars) to elect the vice chairman of the Agra municipality through an alliance with the Jan Sangh ('The Politics of Untouchability A Case Study from Agra, India" (a paper presented at the Conference on Social Structure and Social Change, University of Chicago, June 3 6, 1965)

36. See Ralph Retzlaff, *Village Government* (Bombay, 1962), for an extended examination of changes in village leadership and electoral behaviour, including evidence of high cohesion among lower castes after the political control of dominant castes has been broken

37 Joan Menscher, comment in the course of discussion, Conference on Social Structure and Social Change, University of Chicago, June 3 6, 1965.

38 In Modasa assembly constituency of Gujarat, Rajni Kothari and Ghanshyam Shah found that "politics is the

great leveller of social distances and dominance positions found in peasant society..... Baniyas, Patidars and Kshatriays were indeed the significant categories of Modasa politics, but they operated not as traditional communal groups but as political groups, in the process passing over important social gradations or creating new ones" ("Caste Orientation of Political Factions : Modasa Constituency," in Weiner and Kothari (eds.), *Indian Voting Behaviour*, p. 161). And in Baroda East, A Gujarat urban assembly constituency, Kothari and Tarun Seth found that while "castes and communities constitute effective bases for political organization and mobilization" they are split or united on political lines ("Extent and Limits of Community Voting : The Case of Baroda East," in Weiner and Kothari (eds.), *Indian Voting Behaviour*, p. 24).

Paul Brass's analysis of polling station data for the 1962 election in Aligarh assembly and parliamentary constituencies reveals massive community voting, but of a complex sort, Muslims voted as a community for what they believed to be their community's interest; but that did not necessarily lead them to support a Muslim. They supported a Muslim, and a non-Muslim, identifying their community's interest with a political party. The successful Republican party Legislative Assembly candidate, a Muslim, Dr. Abdul Bashir Khan, "polled between 83.7 and 95.4 percent of the total vote in his ten best polling station, which covered 26 *mohallas* (neighbourhoods) in the town. The mediun percentage of Muslim residents in these *mohallas* according to the 1951 census, was 89.6 *mentary* constituency, the Congress candidate (Jarrar Haider, a Muslim) won a plurality of the votes in only 1 of 96 polling stations. The remaining 95 polling stations were divided between the winning Republican candidate (B.P. Maurya, a Chamar) and the Arya smaj candidate (Shiv Kumar Shastri, a Hindu). Nine out of 10 of B.P. Maurya's best polling stations (between 81.8 and 95.2 per cent of the vote) were the same as the Republican (party's Muslim) candidate's best" (*Factional Politics in an Indian*

State. *The Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh* (berkely, Calif, 1965), pp 109-10, n 47)

39 The idea of a dominant caste has been used in village studies notably by M N Srinivas but also by others It refers to those castes that dominate particular villages or localities by virtue of their ritual rank, numbers, or economic power, See M N Srinivas 'The Dominant Caste in Rampura," *American Anthropologist* LXI (February, 1959) We are more concerned with regional dominance, which can express itself in a state context For one discussion of regional dominance, see Adrian C Mayer, "The Dominant Caste in a Region of Central India," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* XIV (1958), 407-27

40 A fascinating account of the shift from vertical to horizontal mobilization at the village level and the role of the secreat ballot in culminating a series of longer developments is Harold Gould s 'The Incident of the fish," Robert Sakai (ed), *Studies in Asia* (Lincoln Neb, 1966) The account combines a sensitive humanism with social science The attempt by some Americaln Negro leaders to mobilize Negroes on a horizontal (race) basis in the summer of 1966 was defended precisely on the ground that only in this way could they be freed of dependence on white politics

We have stressed the ties of deference and economic dependence in vertical mobilization But physical coercion is also part of the pattern Beteille, *Caste, Class and Power*, draws a vivid picture of a Kallan Panchayat president who uses ' brief" methods to enforce his views Cohn (p 135, n, 12, below) and Rowe and Bailey (p 32, n 8, above) all document straight coercion

41 Our analysis in this paragraph draws on Carolyn Elliott's paper, 'Caste and Faction in Andhra Pradesh" Her Harvard Ph D thesis 'Participation in an Expanding Polity : A Study of Andhra Pradesh" (Fall, 1967), Provides additional materials

42. Except for a short while, and for mainly non-political purposes, when a Reddi caste association prosecuted educational activities after a state-wide meeting in 1923 (John "Politics and Social Change in South India : A Study of the Andhra Movement" (typescript). For the figure for the 1967 election, see *The Statesman*(Delhi, February 15, 1967.

43. Brass, *Factional Politics in an Indian State : The Congress Party in Uttar Phadesh* (Berkeley, Calif., 1965)

44. Schwartzberg, "The Distribution of Selected Castes in the North Indian Plain," pp. 482-83 (map). The Ahirs have from 5-20 per cent in a majority of U.P. districts, the Chamars 10-20 per cent, the Kurmis 2.5—10 per cent in about half the districts.

45. For Chamar politics, see Lynch, "The Politics of Untouchability." Brass observes of the Chamar-Muslim alliance that "the maintenance of such an alliance is difficult to imagine" (*Factional Politics in an Indian State*, p. 110)

46. *Link* (Delhi), IX (February 26, March 5 and 26, 1967).

47. *Link* (Delhi), IX (March 12, 1967).

48. Irschick, "Politics and Social Change in South India."

49. Beteille, *Caste, Class and power*, p. 167.

50. Elliott, "Caste and Faction in Andhra Pradesh," p.8.

51. See Rudolph and Rudolph, "From Princes to Politicians," for a more detailed treatment of Rajasthan politics, including the role of caste associations.

52. —See *Ibid.*, for a detailed discussion of these factors.

53. *Ibid.*, will provide a more comprehensive and detailed analysis of the course of political development in Rajasthan.

30

TAMIL, HINDI AND ENGLISH

It was at the age of twenty four that the London-born Philip Spratt came to India in 1926, after working for labour organizations in London. But his work for the same cause in India earned for him a prosecution for sedition in Bombay (1927) for conspiracy in Meerut (1929), two years of R I (ending in 1934) and an internment for a period of two years (1934-36) He has also made himself herd on Indian politics through his journalistic works for *Mysindia* of Bangalore (1939 65), and *Swarajya* of Madars (from 1965 onwards) as well as through his books, *Gandhism An Analysis* (1939), *India and Constitution Making* (1950), *Blowing Up India* (1955), and *Hindu Culture and Personality* (1966

In his *D M K in Power*, Philip Sprat traces the history of the D M K through its origin and evolution, the party in power, the reign and death of C N Annadurai, the succession crisis, and the assumption of power by the present Chief Minister Mr Karunanidhi Although weak in theoretical perspectives, the author has endeavoured to demonstrate two things (a) how a regional party can provide a credible alternative at the state level, and (b) how the extremism exhibited during the formative period can be tempered in to soberness while shouldering the responsibilities accompanying the wielding of power

In the selection included here the language problem and the role of the D. M. K. in its development are historically discussed.

"TAMIL, HINDI AND ENGLISH"*

Philip Spratt

NO OTHER SUBJECT, EXCEPT THE RISE AND FALL OF THE COALITION Governments in some of the states, occupied so much public attention during the year as the controversy over the official language and the languages of higher education. In this controversy the Madras Government took a principal part. The D. M K. had gained much support by its resistance over many years to the adoption of Hindi as the official language, and when he learnt that he had a majority, Mr. Annadurai's first statement on the policy he proposed to follow was that his Government would ask for a constitutional amendment to provide that English should continue as the official language. In education, however, the new Government at first continued the policy of its predecessor, which was a variant of the "three-language formula": students studied Tamil, English and Hindi or any Indian language other than Tamil, though a failure in the third language did not entail failure in the examination as a whole. In August it was decided that students would be allowed to study Advanced Tamil as the third language. The previous Government had opened colleges and departments in which Tamil was the medium of instruction upto the degree level, but it was understood that few students had taken advantage of them. The new Government proposed to make greater efforts to induce students to study in Tamil as the medium, and leaders exhorted the public to support it. In November

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* From P. Spratt, *D.M.K. in Power* (Nachiketa Publications, Bombay: 1970), pp. 80-91

Mr Nedunchezhin, the minister for education, said in the Assembly that the number of college students being taught through the Tamil medium had risen from 50 or 60 in 1960 to 4,600 though places for 7,500 were available Only the humanities were thaugt in Tamil The Government was considering teaching science subjects in Tamil in the B U C classes next year, and in order to encourage study in the Tamil medium was considering some preference for Tamil medium graduates for the state services He hoped a decision would be taken soon

In April the Union Government circulated a draft Bill embodying the assurance given by Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri that English would continue as the associate official language until all the states should agree to dispense with it Mr Annadurai stated that he was not satisfied with the draft and would continue to press for a constitutional amendment He did not agree that Hindi should ever be the official language, and he objected to the proposals to hold the Union Public Service Commission examinations in all the fourteen languages of the VII Schedule, and for the Union Government to take action to spread Hindi In the final draft the provisions on the spreading of Hindi were deleted Later in August, he stated that while still asking for a constitutional amendment, the MadrasG overnment had suggested changes in the draft bill to the effect that English should continue as the associate language, that all the fourteen languages should be given the status of official languages, and that Hindi should not be imposed In spite of reservations about the drafting of the bill, the Madras Government evidently wanted it to be passed.

In April the Education Minsiters, Dr. Triguna Sen, stated that they had agreed that students should study the mother tongue, the union official language which "is and can only be Hindi", and a library language He had argued in support of this change in the three language formula that the study of three languages was unduly heavy burden on the students His statement, implying directly that non Hindi students, would have to learn one language more than Hindi students, and indirectly that English would no longer be an official Language Act, 1963, and aroused much protest

In July a Committee of Parliament reported on a national policy for education, and recommended the use of the regional language as the medium of education up to the highest level, the change-over to take place within five years, and the study of Hindi, which it said "is already largely in use as a link language.' The D. M. K. member of the Committee, Mr. Anbazhagan,' wrote a dissenting note against this attempt to use educational policy as a "back door method to introduce the official language, which is under question", and against the view that "Hindi should replace English as link and official language".

The Union Education Minister stated in Parliament on the 19th of July that the Government had accepted "in principle that Indian languages should now be adopted as media of education at all stages and in all subjects, including agriculture, engineering, law, medicine and technology". He added that the details of the implementation of "this most important educational decision of a century of struggle" were being worked out and would be announced on Independence Day, August 15. However, no such announcement was made, presumably because of the controversy the decision had meanwhile stirred up.

On August 18 the Madras Government released to the press a memorandum on the suggestions made by the Union Minister of Education on the study of language in schools. It agreed with his plea that the compulsory study of three language overburdened the child, and that not more than two languages should be taught compulsorily at any stage. It pointed out that while the Dravidian states had scrupulously implemented the three-language formula, the Hindi states had not done so, for they had made no serious attempt to teach any of the southern languages and it agreed that they had no reason to do so. The memorandum proposed a variant of the three-language formula which would meet this difficulty by making the third language optional. (This variant was in force in Madras.) But it said, the modified three-language formula suggested by the Union Ministry would make not only the third language but also English optional. Then it would be possible for a student in a Hindi state not to learn English, and for a student in a non-Hindi state not to learn Hindi. There would

then be no link language and if the attempts were made to *remedy this by making the study of Hindi in the non Hindi* states compulsory, it would cause resentment suspicion, and a feeling of being dominated by the Hindi states The states would then tend to pull apart and national intergration and unity would be lost ' The consequence is most frightening " The memorandum suggested that the difficulty would best be met by making the study of the second language English compulsory and accepting it as the link language The document pointed out the advantages of this course, and argued that English should not be abandoned for sentimental reasons

However, all this persuasion was wasted for during this period the Government of India changed its policy on language in the opposite direction, presumably as a result of studying the election results The most striking succeesses in the election had been those of the D M K, the Jan Sangh and the Samyukta Socialist Party, and all could plausibly be ascribed to these parties' strong words about language, the D M K s for Tamil and against Hindi and the other two parties for Hindi and against English The Congress leaders seemed to believe that a policy like that of the D M K would appeal only to Madras, while that of the Jan Sangh and the S S P, would appeal at least to all the *Hindi* states The leaders were therefore tempted to compete with these parties by making Hindi the official language and eliminating English as soon as possible, and trying to mollify the D M K by making the regional language the media of education up to the highest level The Law Minister of the Madras Government, Mr S Madhavan re turned from a visit to Delhi at the end of August with the impression that ' Union Ministers are not serious about retaining English as the link language ' Indeed the Minister of State for Education, Mr Bhagwat Jha Azad, had alrady betrayed the opinion of these Ministers by saying, "We should wage a war against English' In the Madras Language Convention in November, Mr A E T Barrow M P, speaking from knowledge as a memb r of the Parliamentary Committee to formulate a national policy on education, said, 'whatever the educational motive might be, the political aim is to banish

English and enforce Hindi." Mr. M.C. Chagla, the Externa Affairs Minister, confirmed this impression of a change of policy when he resigned from the Government and explained in his letter to the Prime Minister that he had done so because he disagreed with the policy on language. This time-limit set for the change-over in the universities, of five years for undergraduate students and the years for all stages, is hopelessly unpractical and unrealistic . A sudden change-over from English to the regional languages must result in a precipitous lowering of standards, more particularly in the field of science...Regional language will take the place of English, and the linguistic bond which contributes so much towards our unity will have been snapped...I strongly feel that the steps we are taking are irreversible..." He stated to the press that the Government had taken a final decision on this matter, and that its decision was contrary to the report of the Education Commission, which said that the manner and pace of the change to the regional language should be left to the universities, and that five or six major universities should continue to use English as the medium of instruction.

A number of public men, and of educationists, technical men and business men, from Tamilnad and elsewhere, met in Madras on November 4 and 5 to state in detail the case for the retention of English in the educational system. They formed panels representing science, law, medicine, engineering, business, the humanities, university teachers, secondary school teachers, parents and students. These groups drew up thoughtful and conget statements of the case from their points of view. At the final session Mr. V. R. Nedunchezhian spoke, setting forth the substance of this Government's memorandum, summarized above. "In Madras state English is started even in the third standard. It is the considered opinion of the Government of Madras that a student should learn at least one international language. The Government therefore, decided that English should not be discarded. At present English is the only language which satisfies the definition of link language. It is therefore considered necessary to retain English as a link language. With regard to colleges, the firm policy of the Government is to make Tamil

the medium of instruction in as short a time as possible. The manner in which this should be brought about has to be left to the educationists The Government is not anxious to fix any time limit for this In fact the suggestion to introduce the regional language as medium of instruction within five years was not acceptable to the Government, since a great deal of preparatory work has to be done With regard to post graduate education, again, it is a matter for the experts in the educational field to decide about the role of English"

The Chief Minister stated the policy more briefly in his Convocation Address to the Annamalai University in November. "The Government of Tamilnad has stated in unmistatable terms that Tamil and English can serve all our purposes To plead for two link languages is like boring a smaller hole in the wall for a kitten while there a bigger one for the cat* That we are not going to accord a higher status to English is borne out by the fact that we have accepted, and are implementing, with due caution, the principle of making Tamil the medium of instruction in colleges, progressively" However, in the same month the Education Minister said in the Assembly that English must remain as a medium of instruction in the colleges side by side with Tamil The change-over to Tamil, he said, must proceed stage by stage, there should not be a complete change over at present

Despite its zeal to eliminate English and replace it with Hindi, the Government of India could not resist the demand that it should give legal from to Nehru's assurance on the use of English for official purposes while any of the states still desired it But many members of the Congress Party in Parliament opposed this demand, and the Government had some difficulty in persuading them to agree. However, when the bill, in the form of an amendment to the Official Languages Act 1963, was introduced in Parliament, on November 27 only one Congress member voted with the Jan Sangh, the S S P and the D M K. against its introduction The bill said that notwithstanding the expiration of

* Newton is supposed to have done this

fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, English "may continue to be used" in addition to Hindi for a number of specified purposes. In communications between a state which has not adopted Hindi and the Union or another state, English "shall be used". In making rules, consideration shall be given to the quick and efficient disposal of business and the rules shall ensure that public servants shall not be placed at a disadvantage because they do not have proficiency in Hindi and English. These sections shall remain in force until resolutions for the discontinuance of the use of English for these purposes have been passed by the legislatures of all the states which have not adopted Hindi as their official language, and until, after considering these resolutions, a resolution for discontinuance has been passed by each House of Parliament.

The bill thus fairly met the demand of those who desired English to continue as an official language, and their fears seemed to have been unnecessary. The bill was passed on December 16, with some minor amendments. Whereas the original clause said that certain Hindi communications must be accompanied by an English translation, the amendment provided also for Hindi translations of English communications; and whereas the original said that English should be used for certain types of communication, the amendment said that Hindi may be used, but the communication must be accompanied by an English translation. The D.M.K. members protested, but probably did not regard these changes as very important. They moved an amendment that in the clause, "the English language may, as from the appointed day, continue to be used, in addition to Hindi", the word "may" should be replaced by "shall". This was rejected. However, they had resolved in consultation with Mr. Annadurai, to support the bill, if it was not "watered down" by amendments. Their opposition, and that of other non-Hindi members, persuaded the Government to withdraw or oppose other and more important proposed amendments, and the D.M K. might have been fairly saitsfied with the bill as passed, but for other factors

The opponents of the bill, among whom the most vigorous

were the S S P, organised "Angrezi' hatao" demonstrations, which continued in the streets of many of the northern cities throughout the weeks of the discussion in Parliament Mobs tore down English name boards and blacked out international numerals on the number plates of motorcars, and then, as is usual in such cases, proceeded to loot and destroy property having no connection with their ostensible purpose Two ministers in the Government of Uttar Pradesh, members of the S S.P led an anti English demonstration in Delhi, defied police orders, and were placed under arrest and a member of the Lok Sabha set fire to a copy of the bill in the chamber

More important than all this, the strong advocates of Hindi in the Congress Parliamentary Party persuaded the Government to move, together with the bill, a resolution on language policy in education and recruitment to the services, which was far more injurious to non Hindi citizens than the bill The resolution said that the Government of India must accelerate the spread and development of Hindi and its use for official purposes, and in collaboration with these state Governments must develop the other languages specified in the Eighth Schedule, and that the three language formula must be implemented fully in all states, and in order to safeguard the interest of people belonging to the different parts of the country in regard to the Union Public services (a) compulsory knowledge of either Hindi or English shall be required at the stage of selection of candidates, and (b) all the languages in the Eighth schedule and English shall be permitted as alternative media for the all India higher central services examinations The original draft of clause (a) read, "compulsory knowledge of Hindi shall not be required", but a non official amendment changed this to, 'compulsory knowledge of either Hindi or English shall be required".

The amendment is discriminatory A Hindi speaker who knows no other language can be recruited, whereas in order to be eligible speakers of other languages must learn an additional language, either Hindi or English The Home Minister admitted this, but he assured the House that recruits who know only Hindi will be required to learn English after recruitment The

assurance failed to satisfy critics, who asked what degree of competence in English could be expected, and predicted that the effect of the resolution would be to divide the secretariat into two parts, one working in English and the oeher in Hindi. The eventual effect would be to divide India in the same way. Evidently this sentence is the heart of the resolution. In particular, it will make the provisions about the three-language formula ineffective. The authorities in the Hindi states seem never to have enforced that formula, and now there was even less reason why they should do so.

Thus the attempt to give legal form to Nehru's assurance about the official language for the benefit of the non-Hindi speakers actually had the opposite effect and made things worse for them. Mr. Frank Anthony, M.P., an energetic opponent of Hindi as the official language, had often said that the Union Government was a "prisoner of the Hindi bloc" in Parliament. This episode confirmed his opinion. How far it was an unwilling prisoner is doubtful. The Home Minister, Mr. Chavan, moving the bill in the Rajya Sabha, said that the ultimate aim was to make Hindi the sole official language as possible. The Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai, has expressed similar opinions.

In response to the anti-English demonstrations in the North, and a few days later, anti-Hindi demonstrations took place in the South, first in the towns of Madras, and then in the other three states. Some people attacked shops owned by North Indians, but in the absence of more appropriate targets the rioters for the most part attacked Union Government property, principally that of the railways, destroyed about twenty lakhs worth, and dislocated the services for several days. Most of the damage was done in Madras, and the D.M.K. Ministers' attempts to restrain the mobs by verbal appeals caused further doubt about their ability to maintain order while, in accordance with their stated policy, refraining as far as possible from using force.

Student representatives met the Chief Minister on the 6th

January, and undertook to end the agitation and leave the state Government to defend their interests But in fact the agitation continued in most parts of the state, and when the schools and colleges reopened after the vacation on the 12th January, there was so much disturbance in the southern and eastern districts that the Government ordered them to close again On the 19th D M K leaders from all the districts met, and authorized the Chief Minister to formulate the party policy in relation to the amendment to the Official Languages Act and the appended resolution Some of the local leaders seem to have admitted that they could not restrain the students Indeed, on the next day, the 20th, a meeting at Coimbatore of the Tamilnad Students' Anti Hindi Agitation Council, representing all parts of the state, split into three sections. The most moderate were willing to leave things to the Government, while the most militant group demanded an end to the teaching of Hindi and of Hindi commands in the National Cadet Corps, the withdrawal of the three language formula, an end to the showing of Hindi films and the broadcasting of Hindi songs, and the separation of Tamilnad from the Union It also announced action to prevent the working of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, and soon afterwards demonstrations compelled the offices of the Sabha to close, Other events showed that this section had considerable strength At the same time the anti Hindi agitation in the neighbouring states was spreading and becoming more violent

No doubt, impressed by this evidence of general discontent and themselves much offended by the action of the supporters of Hindi in parliament, the D M K. Government decided to act more resolutely than they had yet been willing to do on any matter They summoned a special meeting of the legislature on the 23rd January, and presented a resolution asking for a constitutional amendment to make all the fourteen languages official languages, English meanwhile to be used for that purpose, suspension of the operation of the resolution on language policy, and a conference of leaders of all parties to devise ways to remove the injustice caused by the resolution and a solution to the language problem. The resolution proceeded 'This House

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refuses to accept the said plan of enforcing Hindi as formulated by the Union Government", and resolves that "three-language formula be scrapped, and Tamil and English alone shall be taught, and Hindi shall be completely eliminated from the curriculum in all the schools in Tamilnad, and that in the National Cadet and other Corps the words of commands shall not be in Hindi, and if the Union Government refuses to accept this suggestion, such Corps shall be disbanded." The D.M.K., the Swatantra Party, the Muslim League, the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, and the Republican Party voted for the resolution; the Congress, the C.P.I., both sections, the S.S.P. and the P.S.P. abstained. No vote was cast against it.

The Chief Minister then announced that the Tamil Medium would be introduced in all Government Colleges and the English medium sections would be abolished from the next year. He would consult the Vice-Chancellors on improving students' knowledge of English. Two days later the Chief Minister signed an order bringing to an end the teaching of Hindi in schools and colleges. The same day he addressed a public meeting to commemorate the martyrs of the anti-Hindi demonstrations of three years before. There he proclaimed that the thirty-years war against Hindi had been won.

The D.M.K. and its supporters were triumphant, and the unwillingness of all members of Assembly to vote against the resolution is evidence of the general disapproval of the action of the Hindi group in Parliament. Nevertheless the resolution caused much doubt. Large numbers of people in Madras wish to learn Hindi for its usefulness in the government service and in business, and among the educated, probably the great majority are opposed to the use of Tamil as the medium of instruction in the colleges. They cannot, of course, claim that they had not been warned, though the Government's spokesmen had generally declared against such a sudden change-over as was now to be enforced. Since the resoultion was passed, many have pleaded for the optional teaching of Hindi, and still more for a choice of medium of instruction as between Tamil and English in the Colleges : when the colleges opened in June 1968, the Govern-

ment colleges offered instruction only in the Tamil medium in the arts subjects, and students showed a very marked preference for the private colleges, which still provided instruction in English in the arts subjects On the other hand, some interpret the Madras Government's resolution as preparing the way for a bargain between the Union and Madras Governments Since then the Prime Minister has on several occasions stated that the amendment and resolution cannot be reconsidered Probably nothing would change her mind except joint action by the non-Hindi states, and in view of other preoccupations of West Bengal and Kerala, and strength of the Congress in Andhra and Mysore, such joint action does not seem very likely

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HINDUISM AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

It was while an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Rhode Island that Donald Eugine Smith wrote his monumental *India as a Secular State*, first published in 1963. What he has done in this book is to explore the origin of the concept of secularization as it is found both in Indian culture and in the example of the West. Not only does he emphasize the important role of secularization in India's democratic experiment, but also points out that the degree of its realization will undoubtedly affect the eventual character of democracy in India. In the course of this argument, Dr. Smith also treats various aspects of the problem of religious liberty and state regulation, such as the propagation of religion, foreign missionaries, and religious reforms carried out by the state. He also takens care to discuss problems of the religious minorities, and the challenge that Hindu communalism poses to the secular state.

In the selection included here, Dr. Smith deals with Hinduism and Indian nationalism, with special focus on the religious policy of the Indian National Congress during the independence struggle.

"HINDUISM AND INDIAN NATIONALISM"*

I E Smith

Thus far in the discussion of the British period our concern has been with the development of government policy We have sought to identify those policies of the British government which provide some of the historical roots of modern India's slcular state We have also noted the policies which militated against the development of secularism

We must at this point discuss the religious policy of a non-governmental institution—the Indian National Congress—which with the attainment of independence became the ruling political party in the central government and in all the state governments The roots of Indian secularism must be sought as much in the history of the Congress as in the pronouncements and policies of British governors-general To what extent did the Congress espouse and implement the ideal of a secualr, non communal nationalist organization? And to what extent was its nationalism associated with Hindu revivalism, communal and exclusivist in its tendencies?

In a general way the Indian nationalist movement received considerable initial impetus from the reformist Hindu sects of the latter half of the nineteenth century Leaders of the Hindu renascence such as Swami Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda abandoned the ealier defensiveness, and in different ways confidently proclaimed the superiority of Hindu religion and culture over the Christian West The Indian National Congress, how-

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* From D.E. Smith, *India As a Secular State*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton 1963), pp 87 94

ever, received no direct inspiration from this source at the time of its founding in 1885. A retired British civil servant, Allan Hume, was prominently associated with its formation, and four of the early presidents of the Congress were Englishmen. The leading mambers of the organization were western-educated Indians who subscribed to the ideals of British liberalism. Most of them had a sincere appreciation of the beneficial results of western rule in India, and the government for its part was generally sympatheitc to the Congress in the early years.

Every effort was made to place the Congress on a solidly non-communal basis, despite the fact that the first meetings were predominantly Hindu gatherings. The report of the second Congress (1886) made it clear that religious community was irrelevant to membership in the nationalist organization. "The Congress is a community of temporal interests and not of spiritual convictions that qualify men to represent each other in the dicsussion of political questions; we hold their general interests in this country being identical, Hindus, Christians, Muslims and Parisis may fitly as members of their respective communities represent each other in the discussion of public secular affairs."[59] Differences of opinion were inevitable, it was recognized, but these would hinge "not on differences of creed, but on differences in social *position, profession, occupation and the like*". In the early congress sessions there were Europeans, Eurasians, Hindus of many castes and sects Shi'a and Sunni Muslims, Jains, Parsis, and Sikhs.

In 1887 Badruddin Tyabji, a Muslim, was elected president of the Congress, and nine years later Rahmatullah Muhammad Sayani occupied the same position. In 1888 the attendance at Congress session was divided as follows : *Hindus 965, Muslims* 221, and others 62.[2] In that same year the Congress adopted a resolution which stated that any subject introduced for discussion would be dropped if the Muslim or the Hindu delegates objected as a body. There was no unwillingness to reassure the minority group. The Muslim community as a whole, however, remained aloof from the Congress, following the lead of Syed Ahmed Khan. And by 1905, the militant Hinduism of the Extremists had reduced the number of Muslim delegates to a handful.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a mighty struggle for control of the Congress The two factions, the Moderates and the Extremists, held radically different views as to the proper ends and means of the nationalist movement The Moderates, represented by such men as M G Ranade and G K Gokhale continued the liberal tradition Convinced of the blessings of British rule'', they sought to promote the gradual political evolution of India along parliamentry lines and to press for social reforms which they deemed essential to the building of an enlightened modern state "Although they were not men devoid of religious faith," wrote Stephen Hay, "they accepted the divorce of religion from government and maintained a secular view of politics which contrasted markedly with the religious outlook of the Extremists[61] The Extremists, led by such men as Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghose, combined the western ideas of patriotism and nationalism with the religious symbolism of Hinduism Rejecting the slow methods of the moderates, who submitted cautiously worded petitions to the government, the Extremists urged a program of action, immediate and even violent if necessary Nationalism, identified with religion, became an absolute, India became the Mother, the goddess to whom fervent and undivided devotion must be given

In Maharashtra, Tilak promoted the celebration of two festivals which became the vehicles of nationalist expression. One, dedicated to the Hindu god Ganesh, was a ten day festival which provided a good occasion for both anti British propaganda and the building up of a sense of Hindu solidarity[63] The Shivaji festival honouring the Maratha here who had successfully fought against the Mughal empire, had a distinctly anti Muslim tone. Swami Dayananda, mentioned above, had founded the Cow Protection Association in 1882, and Tilak continued the anti cow killing agitation His scholarly commentary of the *Bhagavad Gita* propounded the thesis that the *Gita's* call to action in this world included political as well as religious deals At both the popular and more sophisticated levels, Tilak effectively invoked the spirit of a resurgent Hinduism to fight the nationalist cause, but at the inevitable cost of alienating the Muslims

After the mutiny, the Muslims had been considered the most dangerous opponents of British rule, but in the early twentieth century the government's policy degan to favor them. The partition of Bengal in 1905 created a Muslim-majority area. widened the breach between the two communities, and gave further stimulus to Extremist activities. The religious symbols which Tilak used with such effectiveness in Maharashtra had no appeal in Bengal, but others of even greater potency were at hand. The land of Bengal, and by extension all of India, became identified with the female aspect of Bankim Chandra Chattejee's poem *Bande Mataram* ("Hail to the Mother") Soon became the great Congress nationalist song throughout India. The country was the Mother, but not a defenseless female: "Thou art Durga (the Goddess Mother), Lady and Queen, with her hands that strike her swords of sheen."[4]

Some of the most passionate statements of the Extremist creed came from the pen of Aurobindo Ghose. "Liberty is the fruit we seek from the sacrifice and the Motherland the goddess to whom we offer it", he wrote in 1907. "Into the seven leaping tongues of the fire of the yajna (ritual sacrifice) we must offer all that we are all that we have, feeding the fire even with our blood and lives and happiness of our nearest and dearest; for the Motherland is a goddess who loves not a maimed and imperfect sacrifice, and freedom was never won from the gods by a grudging givering."[5] Aurobindo's religious symbolism was much more than vivimagery; he identified the country with its ancient faith so completely that patriotism and worship became indistinguishable. "Nationalism is not a mere political program; nationalism is a religion that has come from God."

The cult of Durga or Kali, with its tantric ritual and animal sacrifiies, quickly became associated with revolutionary terrorism in Bengal. A pamphlet printed at a secret press called upon the sons of India to rise up, arm themselves with bombs, and invoke the Mother Kali. "What does the Mother want? A coconut? No! A fown or a sheep or a buffalo? No!... The Mother is thirsting after the blood of Feringhis (foreigners) who have bled her profusely."[6] While most of the Congress leaders

condemned that terrorism in Bengal, Tilak gave veiled approval by his silence

Bepin Chandra Pal, another Extremist leader, wrote in *The Soul of India* that the traditional gods and goddesses who had lost their hold upon the modern Hindu mind were now being reinstated with a new nationalist interpretation Hundreds of thousands of people had now begun to hail their motherland as Durga or Kali "These are no longer mere mythological conceptions or lengendary persons or even poetic symbols They are different manifestations of the Mother This Mother is the spirit of India This geographical habitat of ours is only the outer body of the Mother Behind this physical and geographical body, there is a Being, a personality the Personality of the Mother"

Failing to win control of the Congress in 1907, the Extremists split off from that bodi,nnd for various reasons their influence waned during the next decade[7] Dispite the intensity of the Extremists' efforts and the fervent religious appeal of their message, the main body of Indian nationalism preferred the slower path of progress through constitutional reforms However, the Extremists made it doubly difficult for the congress to attract the already suspicious Muslim minority, and the founding of the Mulism League (1906) coincided with the peak of Extremist influence

In 1920 the Congress came under the control of Mohandas K Gandhi, whose nationalism had deep roots in religious faith In this autobiography Gandhi asserted that "Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means" There can be no doubt that much of Gandhi's power as a political leader was based upon the Hindu reverence for a saint, for the ascetic who renounces personal comfort in order to attain a higher end Furthermore, Gandhi used religious terminology to explain the objectives of the nationalist movement. In the future, India would become *Ram Rajya*, the kingdom of Rama, a golden age of peace and prosperity.

Gandhi's religious faith, however, was utterly different from that of the Extremists. He declared that his Hinduism included all that he knew to be best in Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. Gandhi strove unceasingly for Hindu-Muslim unity, convinced that ultimately both religions were true and valid.[8] His deepest conviction was that God, Truth and *Ahimsa* (non-violence) were all one and the same. *Satyagraha* (truth-force, non-violent resistance) was thus based on Gandhi's personal religions faith, but as a political device it was employed by many thousands who did not share that faith. Gandi's leadership of the Indian National Congress gave it a somewhat Hinduized appearance, but his constant emphasis on the religious, social and political unity of the various communities helped to lay the foundation of the secular state.

There were other elements in the Congress which strengthened the non-communal approach during this period. Lowers steeped in the principles of the British constitution had little in common with the representatives of Hindu revivalism, they continued the nineteenth-century liberal tradition through the entire independence movement. Muslim leaders of the Congress especially Abdul Kalam Azad, and members of other minorities by their very presence helped to maintain the non-communal nationalism of the movement. Men such as Jawahurlal Nehru and Subhas C. Bose subscribed to a secularist view of life and helped to produce a growing temper of mind whidh relegated religious matters entirely to the individual's conscience. The growth withen the Congress of a socialist organisation added the teachings of Marx and Laski to the other forces promoting secular nationalism.

In 1931 the Congress session at Karachi adopted a resolution on the fundamental rights which were to be incorporated in the future consititution of India. Along with the statements concerning religius liberty and the protection of the rights of minorities, we find this explicit commitment : "The state shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions."[9] The secularisn, of the Constitution of 1950 was thus the fulfillment of a pledge made by the Indian National Congress nearly two decades before.

Parapoxically, the Muslim League also contributed to the secularism of the Indian National Congress In the late 1930's and early 1940 s, M A Jinnah repeatedly claimed that the League represented all the Muslims of India and furthermore insisted that the Congress publicly acknowledges itself as a purely Hindu organization This challenge made it imperative that the Congress emphasize all the more its non communal character The League s demand for Pakistan in 1940 reinforced Congressmen's thinking about the nature of the independent Indian state of the future If the proposal for the partition of India and the creation of a Muslim state was unsound, what was the Congress alternative plan ? The alternative could only be in terms approximating the secular state—a united India in which government would be kept separate from religion, and in which all citizens would have equal rights

Anyone who is convinced that the basic idea of the secular state represents the only sound democratic solution to the problem of religious diversity must regard the partition of India as unfortunate, even tragic British policy was undoubtedly partly esponsible, and Indian writers frequently point to the initial decision to introduce separate electorates Dr S Radhakrishnan saw a very clear cause and effect relationship , "Separate electorates intensified communal consciousness and created such an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility as to arouse the demand for Pakistan "[10]

British writers, on the other hand, tend to find that Congress inflexibility was the chief cause Sir Percival Griffiths asserted that "it is undoubtedly true that the real creators of the demand for Pakistan were the Congress High Command If they had been prepared to abate their claims to be the sole spokesmen for India and had tried to allay Muslim fears even slightly, Pakistan might never have come to brith "[11] While agreeing in part with Griffiths' statement, Pakistani writers interp et the founding of their country as a great positive achievement, the credit for which must go to M A Jinnah and the Muslim League We shall leave precise evaluation of the innumerable factors which operated in this complex situation to the clearer perspective of future historians.

Footnotes

1. *Report and Proceedings of the Second Indian National Congress.*
2. M.V. Krishna Rao, *The Growth of Indian Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century*, H. Venkataramiah and Sons, Mysore, 1951, p. 304.

   Sources of Indian Tradition, p. 662. The religio-political thought and program of the Extremists is discussed in Maganlal Amritlal Buch, *Rise and Growth of Indian Militant Nationalism*, Baroda, Atmaram Press, 1940.
3. Victor Barnouw, "The Changing Character of a Hindu Festival", *American Anthropologist*, 1954, 56, pp. 74-86.
4. *Sources of Indian Traiditon. p. 711.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 727.
6. Quoted in Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India*, Macdonald and Company, London, 1952, p 296.
7. They were reunited with the Congress in 1916.
8. See M K. Gandhi, *Communal Unity*, Navajivan, Ahmedabad, 1949.
9. See appendix in Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Unity of India*, John Day Company, New York, 1948, p. 406.
10. S. Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd , London, 1948, p. 242.
11. Perdival Griffths, op. cit. p. 342.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INDIAN MODEL

Rajni Kothari Founder-Director of the Centre of the Study of Developing Societies (Delhi) is not only one for the foremost political scientists of India, but is also greatly responsible for modernizing political science in India His *Politics in India* (1970) has turned out to be a modern classic on Indian Politics Divided into eleven chapters, this book covers such areas as (1) Theoretical considerations, (2) Historical Antecedents, (3) Approach to Modernization, (4) Institutional strategy, (5) Party system and coalition making (6) Social Infrastructure (7) Political Culture and Socialisation, (8) Political Institutionalisation and National Integration, (9) Political Economy of Development, (10) Coping with the International Environment, and (11) Future perspectives Prepared in the light of enormous empirical data collected and analysed with the aid of refined and systematic methods, (the assumptions of which are, however, not universally accepted), this work remains to this day the biggest attempt by an Indian Political Scientist to suggest a general theory of Politics in India

In the selection included here, Dr Kothari defines the significance of the Indian model of nation-building, thus highlighting the uniqueness of the 'Indian *Political System*', tossed between the winds of continuity and change.

"SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INDIAN MODEL"*

Rajni Kothari

The point about Indian development which gives it the character of an unprecedented undertaking is that while economic and social change is in important respects planned and directed from above, it is nonetheless carried on within the framework of an open and undirected polity. This means that manipulation of change in the image of a few dominant ideas gets conditioned by an accelerated pace of political compelition, a changing structure of power and influence, and a widening base of political consultation and presuation. The model is based less on coercing individuals and groups into new directions of action than on indulging them towards their own growth, albeit within a framework enacted from above. It is based less on the transcendence of individual self interest by reference to "reasons of state" than on reconciling such self interest with the common good as interpreted by a legitimized elite in an idiom of persuasion.

Moreover, the arena of power is not limited to a ruling oligarchy or an aristocracy of birth; it is increasingly being spread to society as a whole by drawing new sections into its ambit. This differentiates the Indian case both from the European case where, during the phase of rapid industrialization and social change, political participation was confined to the upper classes of society, and from the revolutionary experiments in both communist and non-communist varieties where, barrnig

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* From Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India* (Orient Longman Delhi : 1970) pp. 8-18.

intraparty feuds and military coups, political competition was generally not allowed to interfere with the process of development In India politics is neither suppressed nor confined to a small aristocracy On the contrary, politics provides the larger setting within which decision making in regard to economic development and social change takes place Alongside, other trends have developed, *Trends that seem inherent in the Indian approach to nation-building* The influx of the representative element in the administrative system, the pressures for the distribution of scarce resources, the close interactions between social factions and political factions, the secularization of traditional social cleavages, and the growth of new standards and criteria of status—these are some of the new factors that are conditioning both the political process and the development process taking place in the country

On the other hand, it is important to remember that the development process in India started within the framework of a well developed administrative structure This has had an enduring legacy for subsequent development All the more important programs—industrilization, community development, education, agricultural production, even local self government—have been approached in a framework that is essentially administrative and bureaucratic Overlaying this framework is now *found an increasing penetration of political structures and values*

Thus, two processes of nation building are going on in India One is the administrative-governmental process aiming at maximization, co-ordination, and uniformity in planned effort The other is the political process leading on the one hand to the establishment of a dominant political center and on the other hand to processes of dispersal and diversification, and the activization of new centers of institutional and group activity. It is the interaction between these two approaches to nation-building, the blurring of the line between the two, and the subtle modifications of outlooks and attitudes in each that provides the larger framework within which development takes shape

The transformation taking place in India is largely a political-bureaucratic transformation. India seems to us to be the clearest refutation of the reductionist viewpoint which takes politics and government as phenomena whose explanation must properly be sought in social and economic forces. In India, politics and government are something that cannot be explained away. To no small degree, the state has become the arbiter of society. This is not to deny the autonomy of social and economic factors in the development process; indeed it seems likely that with increasing diversification of centers of power, this autonomy will increase. What is being stressed is the increasingly political orientation of social interests, in which the political process provides the inclusive setting within which these interests are found to interact.

Such changes are sometimes interpreted as an attempt on the part of one or more social groups to perpetuate or strengthen their respective positions in the traditional hierarchy, thus making the political system an instrument of the social structure, a favortie theme of the political anthropologist. As time goes by, however, the organizational nexus within which the process takes place and the political-bureaucratic values that it enforces assure that the general process of politicization reaches a point of no return. In fact, the conditioning of politics by local groups to buttress their respective positions is to be understood as part of the process of politicization itself. The striving for status gets politically oriented in the process acquiring new criteria of status and power.*

Role of Politics

In short the Indian model of development is characterized by politicization of a fragmented social structure through a

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*Such a process not only articulates and crystallizes the relevant aggregates of interest; it also reinterprets and restructures the antecedent distribution of needs and loyalties. Once such a political system is stabilized and achieves a concrete institutional form, the interest aggregates will, no doubt, take on more positive role in the articulation of demands and policies. Until then the "interest group" approach is of limited use.

penetration of political forms, values, and ideologies Operating against the background of an essentially *a political* condition of society, such a process involves the building of a political center, the diversification of this center through a net-work of benefits and obligations, and the mobilization of diverse sections of society in this network, thus closing the gap that has traditionally divided village society from the polity

There is great novelty in all this One of the principal failures, perhaps the greatest failure, of India throughout its long history was its inability to function politically, to construct a viable political authority It failed to build a center It is this that is meant when we characterize India as an apolit cal society, not just some cultural predisposition Against this background, the enormously innovative and creative role of India's contemporry political elite becomes clear And this background shows why such an undertaking had to be at once the building of a center and its diversification throughout the subcentres of society. Central to both, however, is the rate of the political in social change

It is important to grasp the implications of this The theory of economic development that has succeeded in standardizing not only the terminology but whole orientation toward the study of social change has given rise to a simple minded, unicasual unilinear, and largely dichotomous view of the development process. This is particulary relevant for a country like India where, in spite of its distinctive approach to development, preoccupation with traditional models had impeded awareness and perception of reality, and has in consequence blurred vision and capacity for self direction. For it is clear that neither the traditional sociological nor the traditional economic variables provide adequate categories by which *political* behaviour can be explained, much less reduced We are investigating a society where change is neither wholly induced by, nor is it a reflection of, a given balance of forces. Politics in a society like India is at once *restricted in its effective social coverage and autonomous* in whatever it covers In a variety of ways, political decision-making determines priorities on allocation of resources, statuses,

and goals. Even the "forms of politics" become relevant and critical. While the substance of politics has no doubt to be perceived beneath formal institutions of authority in terms of patterns of elite socialization and coalition-making, it is also the fact that the political-institutional forms assume a primarily and a dynamism of their own, define society's goals and means, and bring more and more of social reality under their area of control. The two aspects get mixed up : socialization of elites becomes inseparable from politicization of social groups, and the legitimacy of the political system depends essentially on the political restructuring of social forms and identities. The forms of politics themselves assume a dynamic quality. All of this calls for a different framework of analysis than is provided by traditional development theory.

Two points are involved here. The model on which India is set is one of modernization of an ancient and highly plural society in the context of an open polity. This implies modes of attending to social and economic arrangements that need to be clearly gauged if other considerations—or fixations—are not to distort the institutional scheme that the country has adopted by an act of volition. Second, under such a system even the traditional goals of development, such as the rate of economic growth, the degree of requisite social overheads, and the diffusion of new ideas and values, would to a considerable extent depend upon the performance of the political system and its ability to mobilize diverse elements into a framework of unity through growth. Such performance assumes a level of reality perception among the political and administrative elites, as well as leaders of opinion. To enable the political system to arrange and articulate social and economic relationships into a purposive model of development is not an easy task. It meets deep resistance not only from age old traditions of conformity but also from the style and prejudices of the so-called modernist elite found in the professions, the bureaucracy, and the intelligentsia. Abstract constructs of development and ideological fixations inherited from an earlier age could prevent precisely the integration-through-confrontation model of development on which the country has set itself. The need is to ensure that the operational

competence of such a sophisticated model of development is not frustrated by rigidities that originate in doctrinaire obsessions which get translated into an insensitive and capricious bureaucracy.

A more sophisticated conceptual framework is called for essentially because India had adopted a particular model of development: It is not just a concession to political ideology. It is slowly being realized that economic development is not just an economic process and that its success depends on progress on so *many fronts*. *So far* such a realization, however, is more in terms of "preconditions of economic growth" than a comprehension of the total process involved. The important point is that the nation and the society that economists assume as given to them to develop have yet to come into being. Development is as much a process of building a nation as to raise levels of living of some of all segments of the people. Mobilizing and involving masses of people in the productive process is not simply a function of the accumulation and saving constraint but involves such imponderables as incentives, involvement, morale, motivation, participation, and anticipation of demands. These call for a reconstruction of existing differentiations and relationships, the creation of mediating factors between macro and micro-dimensions of society, and consequent patterns of response through which the traditional society must pass in order to [illegible] lations. The role of the [illegible] nst such a framework of [illegible] by the above comm[illegible] is more than a simple interactional scheme of economics and politics, more than a mere assertion of linkages. It is a multi systemic model in which a hitherto fragmented and plural society (structures and values) is exposed to a new set of [illegible] norms, confronted with a purposively adopted [illegible] institutions, directed to new purposes of national [illegible] planned production and [illegible] durable benefits on the one hand and the [illegible] opportunities on the other. In this [illegible] sectors are [illegible] much [illegible]

formulation brings out the critical role of the polity in social transformation.

The transition to such a model is not easy. It took many decades before the attention of students of democracy in the West shifted from forms of government to the actual organization of interest and power in society as a way of studying a political system. An examination of a new polity in an economically underdeveloped and culturally complex society like India brings out even deeper aspects of the structure and organization of power and its purposive direction. The deliberate injection of incongruence in a society's arrangement of human affairs by the gradual introduction and adoption of alien forms of government introduces unprecedented stimuli and responses and brings forth new levels of awareness and new identifications. These also produce, with the passage of time, criteria of governmental performance which often threaten the balance and stability of the established order. Since the actual course of development contains elements from both the traditional and the modern sectors, there seems to be no pre-ordained path along which constitutional government must, of necessity, move.

The Challenge of Simultaneous Change

It is an assumption of rationalist theory that the institutions enacted by a society and the developmental goals it sets before itself at a given time ought to be in consonance. This however, does not necessarily follow. A noticeable feature of India's early development was a growing incongruence between adopted structures and their anticipated goals. Economic and political thinking in the country after the achievement of independence crystallized along : (1) adoption of the institutional framework of parliamentary governn ent based on universal suffrage, depending for its success on a widening electoral base; and (2) setting up of the goals of speedy economic development and a take-off into self-sustained growth through centralized bureaucratic planning. Whether the detailed implications of these two dimensions of development could, in spite of their seeming discrepancy, be made to converge into cumulative nation-building,

whether *such an institutional structure* could have enabled the the State to realize *such goals*, would have depended upon certain crucial conditions

One way was to have established and maintained over a long period of time anau thoritative structure of political leadership providing undissipated administrative drive from the beginning, partly through a steel frame bureaucracy indifferent to political pressure, partly through the operation of a parallel one party machine preferably through both Such an approach presumably would have made centralization in nation building the *sine qua-non* of the Indian situation Whereas politicization of the social structure might be pursued in order to arouse and guide the latter in new directions political competion would have to be confined within very narrow bounds Consultation with local groups and their mobilization for productive purposes would be pursued as a matter of tactics, but there would be little reason to turn these into an ideology of political participation Finally, while social justice and equality might be viewed as legitimate ends to be realized as soon as resources permitted both the philosophy of the welfare state and the politics of rising consumption would be rigorously controlled in the interests of long range growth and material prosperity of the nation

India has not coseкn such a strategy of development Other factors have outweighted the political compulsions of centrally planned economic development Both in its effort to erect a unified national political coalition and in its attempt to work out the institutional mechanics of a mass democracy and its consequent preoccupation with the dynamics of power an inescapable corollary—the leadership has been forced to compromise one after another the simple minded canons of sacrifice and austerity it preached during the years following independence It now seems clear that India has chosen to give precedence to the the complex and difficult task of mobilizing intermediate and peripheral structures through a simultaneous pursuit of both aggregative and participatory goals, rather than simply to remap its institutions for the primary purpose of extracting from the people a growing economic surplus for the state The latter

Implied in what is said above is another point The prevailing approach to the concept of nation building stems largely from the Western experience of the establishment of centralized nation-states out of the break up of empires, feudal social structures, and ecclesiastical authority This conception of a strong central authority monopolizing political and coercive power has strongly influenced contemporary theoretical approaches. Hence, for instance, the great interest in national identity, hence also, an almost compelling concern with parochial tendencies in the new states It is not by any means clear-however, that such an aggressive approach to the establishment of one central authority and the suppression of all parochial identities provides a feasible recipe for the new nations Indeed, if we are empirically sensitive enough it is possible to see that such an approach may well lead to disintegration rather than integration The task facing the elites of these nations is to establish a center, penetrate the symbols of this center, involve other centers into its dominant framework through coalition-making and bargaining, and mobilize the population into this framework by socializing them into new commitments and loyalties, in the process often innovating in regard to political-federal forms Such tasks and challenges place a prime value on political initiative and creativity and assign to politics and the politiative elite functions that in other ages and places were performed by specialized and autonomous groups Looked at in this way, the significance of India's alternative path to development can be seen for what it is worth.

But there are other considerations too. In a country where politicization is given a free course and becomes the principal medium of modernization, it tends to break the autonomy of economic and social institutions and to subject the latter to intense pressurizing from both within and without Its

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two papers by Charless E. Lindblom, "political Democracy and disciplined Devc opment The case of India and "politics, Policy Making and Planing for Indian Economic Development")manuscripts, 1968)

capacity to render its established supremacy over these institutions functional and efficient would, however, depend upon the degree to which the performance of a particular political system has itself shown competenne in meeting t and aspirations of individuals and groups.